THIRTEENTH YEARBOOK OF THE JOHN DEWEY SOCIETY

THE AMERICAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

HAROLD G. SHANE, *Editor*

JOHN L. CHILDS
EDGAR DALE
DAN T. DAWSON
ARTHUR W. FOSHAY
ROMA GANS
WILLIAM M. HADLEY
LOWRY W. HARDING
GERTRUDE HILDRETH
CHARLOTTE HUCK
JAMES L. HYMES, JR.
ROSE LAMMEL
ISABEL LEWIS
WALTER J. MOORE
HENRY J. OTTO
CELIA B. STENDLER
RUTH STREITZ
VIOLA THEMAN
DORIS A. YOUNG

HARPER & BROTHERS • ESTABLISHED 1817

$5.00

THE AMERICAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Edited by Harold G. Shane

A distinguished group of educational experts here review the current trends in the conduct of the American elementary school covering both the philosophy of education and its interpretation in the classroom.

This is probably the most comprehensive presentation of the best thinking on elementary school education to become available in recent years. The volume will be an invaluable sourcebook of authoritative theory and practice for all who are concerned with present problems in elementary education and wish to assist in supporting programs of improvement and modernization.

In his Foreword, Professor Archibald Anderson points out that "One important feature of the Thirteenth Yearbook is its comprehensiveness. It attempts to look at the elementary school as a whole. . . . Each of the chapters makes a significant contribution to the literature of its field. New and fresh syntheses of information are given. Analyses of viewpoints with respect to the role of elementary education are presented. Stimulating interpretations of desirable educational values are explored. All of these contributions make *The American Elementary School* interesting and important reading."

No. 9624

This book was taken from the Library of Extension Services Department on the date last stamped. It is returnable within 7 days.

THE AMERICAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

COMMISSION ON YEARBOOKS OF THE JOHN DEWEY SOCIETY,
ARCHIBALD W. ANDERSON, CHAIRMAN

All yearbooks of the John Dewey Society are prepared under the general coordination of the Commission on Yearbooks.

THIRTEENTH YEARBOOK OF THE JOHN DEWEY SOCIETY

THE AMERICAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION FO
623
Deptt of Extension
Services.
CALCUTTA-27

Edited by

HARALD G. SHANE

Professor of Education
Northwestern University

372.24
Sha

THE ALL INDIA COUNCIL
4/19 D.A.G. Extension
Ajmeri Gate,
NEW DELHI
FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION

HARPER & BROTHERS PUBLISHERS NEW YORK

THE AMERICAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
Copyright, 1953, by Harper & Brothers
Printed in the United States of America

All rights in this book are reserved. No part of the book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information address Harper & Brothers, 49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N. Y.

FIRST EDITION
E-C

Library of Congress catalog card number: 53-5449

The John Dewey Society

MEMBERSHIP OF THE YEARBOOK COMMITTEE

A. Wellesley Foshay, The Ohio State University
Roma Gans, Teachers College, Columbia University
Paul Hanna, Stanford University
Lowry W. Harding, The Ohio State University
Gertrude Hildreth, Brooklyn College
James L. Hymes, Jr., George Peabody College for Teachers
Rose Lammel, New York University
Alice Miel, Teachers College, Columbia University
Henry J. Otto, The University of Texas
Harold G. Shane, Chairman, Northwestern University
Celia B. Stendler, The University of Illinois
Viola Theman, Northwestern University

Contents

Foreword, Archibald W. Anderson ix

I. The Past Challenges the Present *Harold G. Shane* 1

II. Some Ambiguities in Value Theory in Education *John L. Childs* 9

III. Dynamics of Learning in Childhood Education *Gertrude Hildreth* 28

IV. Emerging Concepts of Child Growth and Development: What They Suggest for Classroom Practice *Viola Theman* 57

V. Public Attitudes and Pressures as Determinants of Elementary-School Practices *Roma Gans* 87

VI. Changing Interpretations of the Elementary Curriculum *Arthur W. Foshay* 104

VII. Leadership in Elementary Education *Henry J. Otto and William M. Hadley* 131

VIII. Influences of Commissions, Committees, and Organizations upon the Development of Elementary Education *Lowry W. Harding* 157

IX. Influence of Commissions, Committees, and Organizations upon the Development of Elementary Education (*Continued*) *Lowry W. Harding* 194

X. Improved Teaching Materials Contribute to Better Learning *Edgar Dale* 233

XI. Experimental Centers as Trail-Breakers and Accelerators in Curriculum Change
Rose Lammel 251

XII. Some Research Studies in Education and in Related Disciplines Which Suggest Good Elementary-School Practices
Walter J. Moore and Celia B. Stendler 281

XIII. Subject-Matter Interpretations *Ruth Streitz* 318

XIV. The Expanding Role of the Elementary School
Dan T. Dawson 344

XV. Better Humans, Better Citizens
James L. Hymes, Jr. 363

XVI. The Future Challenges the Present
Harold G. Shane 384

APPENDIX: Chronology of Significant Developments in American Elementary Education (1633-1953) *Charlotte Huck, Isabel Lewis, Doris A. Young* 397

INDEX 419

Foreword

by ARCHIBALD ANDERSON
Chairman, Commission on Yearbooks of the
John Dewey Society

NO ONE would seriously argue that one level of our American educational system is more or less important that any other level. The educational "ladder" is one of our cherished traditions. The purpose and character of that tradition can be illustrated conveniently by the words of the Indiana Constitution of 1816 which, after stating that "knowledge and learning generally diffused through a community [are] essential to the preservation of a free government," placed upon the legislature the duty "to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in a regular graduation from township schools to a State university, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all." We still hold to the ideal that access to educational institutions at all levels is the common heritage of our children.

To value equally all the levels of a common educational system should not, however, prevent us from recognizing that there are times when it is peculiarly appropriate to devote special attention to some one kind of school. The present seems to be a time when there are valid reasons for examining the unique problems confronted by the elementary school. Recent attacks on education have headlined the irresponsible charge that schools are neglecting the fundamentals. Although this charge is demonstrably false, the fact that it has been made has served to increase the difficulty which the elementary school has been encountering in dealing with its other problems. One of these is the attempt to develop in a complex society a program of education which would be "common," in the American sense of the term, and which would include adequate attention to the "fundamentals," but which would also treat each pupil as an individual with his own individual problems of development.

To meet this problem in a complex age is difficult enough, but it has been made more difficult by the increasing demands which have been made upon the school in terms of the sheer quantitative task it is being asked to perform. Steadily increasing birth rates, which have reached an all-time high in the 1950's, indicate that the elementary school will have to meet the problem of providing for steadily increasing enrollments. This task is further complicated by the difficulty of securing an adequate supply of trained teachers. A study conducted by the National Education Association in 1952 indicated that although there was an immediate demand for at least 160,000 qualified elementary teachers, all the institutions of higher education throughout the nation were graduating only a total of a little more than 32,000 candidates for these positions. The employment of inadequately trained personnel to fill the gaps left by this shortage makes extremely arduous the task of bringing the elementary school up to that level of effectiveness which modern educational research makes possible.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of the problems with which elementary schools are coping. It may serve, however, to indicate the general framework within which the elementary school is operating. It may indicate, also, why there is a particular appropriateness in the appearance at this time of a book which attemps to make a comprehensive study and appraisal of the American elementary school in the setting of that framework. The John Dewey Society is honored to have the opportunity to present a book which makes this kind of study.

One important feature of the Thirteenth Yearbook is its comprehensiveness. It attempts to look at the elementary school as a whole. The educator who seeks an overview of the field will find it in this book. Nevertheless, it should be emphasized that this examination of the totality of elementary education has not made for superficiality in the treatment of specialized topics. Each of the chapters in the book makes a significant contribution to the literature of this field. The findings of research studies are examined. New and fresh syntheses of information are given. Analyses of viewpoints with respect to the role of elementary education are presented. Stimulating interpretations of desirable educational values are explored. All of these contributions make *The American Elementary School* interesting and important reading.

There is no set pattern for Yearbooks of the John Dewey Society. They are prepared by separate Yearbook Committees, and although these committees work under the general coordination of the Commission on Yearbooks, they vary considerably in their method of procedure. Therefore, it cannot be said that the Thirteenth Yearbook, *The American Elementary School*, breaks with tradition. At the same time, this Yearbook does represent a unique procedure in the preparation of such scholarly contributions.

This uniqueness arises out of the fact that *The American Elementary School* was conceived and developed almost entirely by correspondence. In order to achieve the desired comprehensiveness, it was necessary to appoint a committee composed of individuals so widely scattered across the country that it was not possible for them to meet as a group. In spite of the difficulties presented by this situation, the Yearbook Committee succeeded in achieving a high degree of unified planning. The editor solicited from the Committee ideas for areas and points to be developed. These were organized, first in a rough draft and ultimately into a working outline, through a series of elaborate mimeographed questionnaires and communications to which the various members of the Committee reacted. Partly because of this unusual planning procedure, the Committee decided to make the Yearbook a series of fifteen chapter-essays which express the views of individual writers with regard to the topics the Committee had originally chosen and outlined. In other words, the Committee is responsible for the design and content of this Yearbook, but not for the particular interpretations which are given in each chapter.

The Commission on Yearbooks and the John Dewey Society wish to acknowledge their indebtedness to all the persons contributing directly and indirectly to this Yearbook. The special debt of gratitude which is owed to the editor of the Yearbook for his skill and effort in carrying a difficult task to a successful conclusion in no way diminishes the indebtedness of the Society to the Committee and to the Writers recognized in the front matter and Table of Contents. Acknowledgment and appreciation are also made to several persons who, through their comments and criticisms, served to strengthen the manuscript: Alice Keliher, E. T. McSwain, W. A. Yauch, and G. Max Wingo.

THE AMERICAN
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

CHAPTER I

The Past Challenges the Present[1]

FOR thousands of years men have groped their way toward the achievement of a dream that was compelling and strong despite the fact that it was not always clearly seen. The dream was one of a world in which human beings could attain dignity, respect, and at least a measure of material security. Some five thousand years ago stirrings from that long dream seem to have motivated the Fourth Dynasty pyramid builders of Cheops in their rebellious struggles for better working conditions. The dream was strengthened at Runnymede Meadow on the Thames when King John signed Magna Charta and has found increasingly greater reality and substance in more recent human documents in the archives of Western civilization, such as the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights. From cave family to tribe, from primitive village to complex city, from ignorance to a great working store of knowledge, man has risen by the use of his intelligence and by learning ways of cooperation in the enduring effort to achieve mutually shared ideals.

Of all the earth's geographical areas, man's ancient dream of self-realization probably has come closest to actuality in America. Here, to a half-continent, have come many of the people who have sensed and sought the reality of that dream.

THE DREAM THAT IS AMERICA

In 1500, man stood on the threshold of a fabulous era. An estimated 100 million Europeans suddenly found opened for them a door between their 3,750,000 square miles of living space and what was, for centuries, to be practically unlimited room for expansion and material self-improvement. Millions for whom the dream gleamed most compellingly began to leave the marginal living they had wrested from European soil and settle in the unbelievably rich New World. They began to move from the political, economic, social, and ecclesiastical restraints which had controlled king and peasant alike into a world that was new both literally and metaphorically. It was new in the literal sense that it was unexplored, and it was new in the metaphorical sense that it held the promise of a fresh start for the Old World's tired, friendless, and hungry.

---

[1] This chapter was written by Harold G. Shane, Northwestern University.

America—or more accurately, the area that was to become the United States—proved to be the land in the New World which was of uniquely great material promise. And, by fortunate circumstance, those people who came to these three million-odd square miles brought their dreams—they planted the seeds of intellectual, religious, and political freedom in an area of vast potential economic wealth. The results of this four-way combination, interacting for over four centuries, have been little short of staggering in terms of the reality which they gave to man's ancient dream of freedom for mind, spirit, and body.

THE NATURE OF THE DREAM. The role of the American environment in bringing reality to dreams of self-realization long has been recognized. In the eighteenth century, for example, a contemporary of Washington and Jefferson took pen in hand. Writing to a friend abroad in 1782, Hector St. John de Crèvecœur said:

> It [America] is not composed, as in Europe, of great lords who possess everything and a herd of people who have nothing. Here are no aristocratical families, no . . . kings, no . . . ecclesiastical dominion. . . . We are a people of cultivators, scattered over an immense territory, communicating with one another by means of good roads and navigable rivers, united by the silken bands of good government, all respecting the laws without dreading their power, because they are equitable. We are . . . animated with the spirit of an industry which is unfettered and unrestrained, because each person works for himself. If [a visitor] travels through our rural districts, he views not . . . the haughty mansion contrasted with the clay-built hut. . . . A pleasing uniformity of decent competence appears throughout our habitations.[2]

In De Crèvecœur's paragraphs one finds a careful observer's appraisal of the *material* elements in the American dream: improved standards of living earned in surroundings which gave more than an even chance for a decent livelihood to the diligent and industrious. Evidence of the dream's effect on *people* is provided by the same writer:

---

[2] Hector St. John de Crèvecœur, *Letters from an American Farmer.* London, 1782. Quoted in Henry S. Commager and Allan Nevins, *The Heritage of America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951), p. 352.

> In this great American asylum the poor of Europe have . . . met together. . . . Urged by a variety of motives, here they came. Everything has tended to regenerate them. New lands, a new mode of living, a new social system. Here they are become men. In Europe they were so many useless plants, wanting vegetating mold and refreshing showers. . . . Formerly they were not numbered in any civil lists of their country except in those of the poor; here they rank as citizens.
>
> . . . . .
>
> [The European becomes] an American who, leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced, and new government he obeys, the new rank he holds.[3]

Other and varied expressions of the American dream abound and can be traced in a thousand sources. Among them are the optimistic (and endlessly repetitive) plots of Horatio Alger's stories such as *Phil the Fiddler* and *From Rags to Riches,* or Charles W. Sanders' didactic nineteenth-century *Union Readers,* which competed, albeit feebly, with McGuffey's six famous titles. Among foreign observers, Alexis de Tocqueville, Harriet Martineau, and, to some extent, Charles Dickens represent those who were aware of the new social qualities emerging on the American scene. As an explicit example, De Tocqueville wrote of the United States, "Men are there seen on a greater equality in point of fortune and intellect . . . than in any other country of the world, or in any age of which history has preserved the remembrance."[4]

EDUCATION IN THE AMERICAN DREAM. The American dream of self-fulfillment insofar as it was consistent with the general welfare was interwoven almost from its earliest beginnings with the germ of the idea of universal free public education. Coupled with the New England-Calvinist concept that literacy (and the individual's consequent ability to read and to interpret the Scriptures) was indispensable was the supporting conviction that education was imperative for the political health of a democracy. We are indebted to Thomas Jefferson for a perceptive comment in this regard. "Enlighten the people generally," he wrote, "and tyranny and oppressions of both mind and body will vanish like evil spirits at the dawn of day." In retrospect this seems a prescient recognition of the basic importance of the intelligence of the individual and of the vital role of free operation of critical, analytical thought which good education seeks to strengthen and to preserve.

---

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 353-354.

[4] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1946), Vol. I, p. 53.

Beginning not later than the eighteenth century there was also the growing belief that education was an important means of preparing the child to rise above his father's station in life. By the mid-1800's it was widely recognized that schooling, in America's relatively classless environment, had the power to change the dogma of a class-ridden European Society which maintained, "If a person is once a cobbler's son he is always a cobbler's son."[5]

Although the schools of the past century were indifferently staffed and sometimes provided folklore as well as fact in their curriculums, although annual terms were often short and materials and methods of instruction sometimes were wretched, faith in education stimulated moral and financial support from the public which strengthened educational offerings enormously. By 1900 the number and quality of public schools had increased in proportion to the geographical expansion and economic growth of America. They were accepted as a kind of insurance that the values of the good life—the American heritage of political, social, economic, and religious freedom—would be transmitted to each new generation.

Even as in literal dreams, the American dream has been conceived and interpreted in different ways by the people who have experienced it. But despite the nebulous qualities it has acquired through differing individual interpretations, the dream—with its concomitant respect for education—was and is of great potency. Vagueness and disagreement as to the exact nature of such value expressions as "dignity" and "respect" and "security" for all men willing to work to attain them endowed the dream with more rather than less appeal.

THE PAST CHALLENGES THE PRESENT

As America moves into the last half of the present century it is becoming increasingly evident that public schools are challenged by accomplishments of the past. Educators are challenged continually to prove the value of the people's public schools as important and worthy objects of the traditional faith bestowed upon them in the American dream. This is a statement particularly applicable to the elementary school—the *common school* which is ". . . distinctly a product of American genius."[6] The common school is one which ". . . is common, not because it is intended for the common people, the masses, as distinguished from the classes, like its counterpart in Europe, but rather because it is intended for all the people, regardless of social, class, religious, national, or racial condition."[7]

---

[5] For a provocative presentation of this viewpoint cf. David L. Cohn, "Who Will Do the Dirty Work?" *The Atlantic Monthly*, 183:45-48, May, 1949.

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE PAST. On the whole public schools have done at least an acceptable job in the past *in terms of the goals which American culture accepted and in terms of what was known about teaching and learning*. Almost from the outset of colonial beginnings in America the reality of the common-school idea has been at work helping children to experience educational processes and disciplines which served to build the integrity of the nation. The literacy imperative to intelligent self-government, a wholesome sense of national unity which has withstood powerful divisive forces, the development toward maturity of healthy, emotionally balanced *individuals*, a growing insight into the concept of the general welfare —each to a considerable degree may be credited to public education. Uncounted teachers and more schools than can be inventoried have served individually and together to strengthen the structure of the American dream.

The human qualities, sometimes loosely called American character, which govern the things we do as a nation, the qualities reflected in the aggregate actions of the average citizen, are *good*. There are those persons who are petty and mean, but the average citizen is someone of whom to be proud. By and large he is honest and hard working. He has vision that periodically lifts him above himself. With exceptions so rare as to be conspicuous he is outreaching and friendly and respects his fellows. He is not innately belligerent, but he has proved that he can fight for his beliefs and that he will make personal sacrifices to help the underdog, even in distant parts of the world. Poor leaders occasionally may misdirect him, but in the long run he stands for what proves to be fair and decent.

These human qualities did not develop as the result of a mere happy chance. They are the result of our values in operation; a consequence of the beliefs we accept and cherish. And the public schools for generations have been instruments—publicly supported, locally controlled, fundamentally unbiased—which have both perpetuated and shaped value patterns. Without belittling either home or church it seems reasonable to accept the idea that only the schools have been a deliberately and democratically designed means for guiding the growth of our values in oncoming generations. Only the schools have served as the official repository for the ideas and ideals underlying America's hard-won social gains and dreams for a better world.

---

[6] Lawrence A. Cremin, *The American Common School: An Historic Conception* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951), p. viii.

[7] *Ibid.*

THE CHALLENGE TO AMERICA'S SCHOOLS. Free public schools are placed on their mettle today as never before. They are so placed not because they were notably unsuccessful in the past but because they are not now as uniformly good as educators have the power to make them. In short, the schools today are challenged to help children learn as efficiently as a greatly increased knowledge of psychology and child development permits; to guide the progress of children at their respective present levels of maturity so that they can ultimately, as secure humane adults, deal effectively with the social, economic, and political problems which they will both inherit and inevitably create for themselves. And the schools face the task of encouraging and stimulating each child to continue dreaming man's great dream *and to achieve it ever more fully in the improved quality of his relationships with others and in discovering the greatness of the human mind set free.*

AND EDUCATION SHALL MAKE THEM FREE. The present yearbook of the John Dewey Society reflects an attempt to study and to appraise American elementary schools. Its chapters endeavor to show how these schools have begun to reach professional maturity: the writers strive to lend direction to continued growth and improvement in the education of children during the years that stretch ahead. Its pages suggest that teachers have knowledge in the professional storehouse *at this time* which can improve educational programs significantly and resolve numerous issues which impede progress.

Last, and perhaps most important, the writers are motivated by the American conviction that the social and moral health of any nation depends on good schools as much as on any other single element. Provide for learnings which are demanding but also wholesome and meaningful for children . . . and education shall make them free.

1. Free to learn the meaning of social responsibility: the concepts that rights bring responsibilities, that opportunities create obligations, that possessions imply duties.
2. Free to learn the techniques and meanings and responsibilities of democratic citizenship including the concepts that laws are made by men and that government is the servant rather than the master of the people.
3. Free to use the tools of the educated person critically and well: tools which make individuals of use to themselves and to society.
4. Free to develop personal integrity and an understanding of ethical human relations, recognizing such values as the sacredness of a promise and the fact that character rather than wealth or power is the measure of a man.
5. Free to understand and to take pride in human achievements both in America and in other lands, and to appreciate the dignity of labor with one's hands as well as one's mind.
6. Free to face the future unafraid: with self-control, with faith in themselves, and with faith in others, regardless of their color or religious beliefs, and with the conviction that justice and truth are fundamentals in the structure of any culture which is to endure.

SUMMARY

A dream of ancient age and uncertain parentage has come close to literal fulfillment in America. It is mankind's old dream of personal self-realization which is not at the expense of the welfare of others; a vision of men of good intent living together peacefully and sharing a reasonable, earned portion of the good things of life—economic, governmental, and spiritual.

The tradition of publicly supported schools has strengthened substantially the human and material development of the United States during past generations. Now, in a world tightly laced together by man's *mechanical* genius, the free schools which are a product of his *social* inventiveness are faced with new tasks.

The 1953 yearbook is designed to develop and to interpret significant concepts bearing on good elementary schools. It has the concomitant purpose of helping elementary teachers use more fully the professional knowledge now available so that they may teach as well as they are potentially capable of teaching. Finally, its pages are written in the hope that they will further stimulate the educational inventiveness required if schools are to overtake and keep up with applied science and its accompanying social changes.

REFERENCES

COHN, DAVID L., "Who Will Do the Dirty Work?" *The Atlantic Monthly*, 183:45-48, May, 1949.

COMMAGER, HENRY S., AND NEVINS, ALLAN, *The Heritage of America*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1951.

COUNTS, GEORGE S., *Education and American Civilization*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952.

CREMIN, LAWRENCE A., *The American Common School: An Historic Conception*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951.

DE TOCQUEVILLE, ALEXIS, *Democracy in America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1946.

HART, JOSEPH K., *Education in the Humane Community*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

MEAD, MARGARET, *The School in American Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951.

RUGGLES, ALICE M., *The Story of the McGuffeys*. New York: American Book Company, 1950.

WEBB, WALTER P., "Ended: Four Hundred Year Boom," *Harper's Magazine*, 203:25-33, October, 1951.

WILDER, AMOS N. (ed.), *Liberal Learning and Religion*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

CHAPTER II

Some Ambiguities in Value Theory in Education[1]

ANYONE who undertakes to discuss values *in* and *for* elementary education soon becomes aware of the fact that he is in a field in which work of the most distinguished kind has already been done. This work has both its experimental and its theoretical dimensions.

SCIENCE AND EDUCATIONAL VALUES. Some of the most productive work in psychology, for example, has come as a result of the scientific study of the child—of his native behavioral equipment, of his inherited likes and aversions, of the manner in which his habits, skills, and attitudes are acquired, of the basic pattern of his maturation, of the role of the culture in shaping the development of the concrete forms of his personality, and, most important of all, of the way in which his underlying emotional and intellectual dispositions are developed. As a result of these experimental studies we have considerable scientific knowledge of the process by which the child matures into a stable person capable of sound preference and judgment, possessed of the capacity for self-direction and for responsible participation in a self-governing community.

Undoubtedly much remains to be done in the scientific analysis and description of child behavior and learning, for study in this area is in its infancy. But we should not be blind to the fact that already much of solid worth has been discovered, and that any adequate discussion of values from the perspective of education must take account of the data accumulated through these empirical investigations. The day has forever passed when "philosophy" can claim any monopoly of the purposes or objectives—the values—of education.

On the other hand, it is equally clear that science in and of itself cannot tell us what our educational values should be, for educational values depend upon life values, and life values are not primarily of the solitary psychophysical organism; they are more basically derived from the folkways and the thoughtways of some actual human group living at a definite time and place. Thus we are led into a consideration of the critical, or the philosophical, phase of the problem.

---

[1] This chapter was written by John L. Childs, Teachers College, Columbia University.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHY AND EDUCATIONAL VALUES. American education has been most fortunate in the quality of the philosophical leaders who have chosen to make the problems and the values of education one of their chief concerns. William James, John Dewey, George H. Mead, Boyd H. Bode, William Heard Kilpatrick, Alfred North Whitehead, Ralph Barton Perry, George Albert Coe, and Max Otto, among others, have all perceived that we are entering a new age, and that an altered conception and program of education is now required to equip the young to feel intellectually and emotionally at home in this new world which our scientific discoveries and technological inventions have brought into existence.

Perceiving the depth of the adjustments both in outlook and in behavior that would be required, these leaders wanted a school which would be frankly committed to a new kind of education. Above all, they wanted a school in which the young would learn through their own wholehearted purposeful responses, under the guidance of teachers who were qualified to introduce them to significant meanings in each of the major aspects of human living—economic, political, governmental, scientific, familial, aesthetic, recreational, and religious.

THE ASSUMPTION OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS. The ablest of these leaders also understood that this kind of new school could not be organized and maintained without the sympathetic understanding and cooperation of the parents and other adults in the community. From the beginning, therefore, they sought to involve laymen as well as teachers and children in the educational ideas and programs they were projecting. Indeed, the educational organizations which they founded and in which they participated included parents as well as teachers. Basic in all of this, of course, was their faith in democracy. They believed that whatever was good and in line with demonstrable truth parents would be concerned to have their children learn in the schools. They also believed that "what the best informed and 'wisest' parents wanted for their children" all parents and citizens in general would want if the reasons for the reconstructed program were adequately communicated to them. Thus, they favored, on fundamental educational and democratic grounds, the forming of parent-teacher and other educational associations in which the meanings of the New Education would be discussed, criticized, and further developed.

THE "MINIMUM ESSENTIAL" OF THE NEW EDUCATION. These leaders also recognized that changes in educational "values" involved correlative shifts in educational method, in curriculum content, as well as in the pattern of organization and administration of the school. Perhaps no one has made a better brief statement of the heart of the New Education emphasis than that given by George Albert Coe in the Introduction of his book, *Law and Freedom in the School*, published in 1924. As Dr. Coe clearly points out in this statement, a conception of the good life and of the good society is involved in the conception of the New Education, or the activity curriculum. He declares:

> Let me say bluntly that I am writing this essay under a conviction that the project method has come into education—has been coming into it for more than a century—to stay there, and to grow until it dominates schools of all grades. . . . I am using the term project, of course, in the sense that makes purposing, and particularly purposing together, its distinctive mark. Not the material worked upon, nor the products that result, not action with accompanying satisfaction; not pleased attention, but purposeful self-guidance. This connotes desire; conflict between desires; selection through discriminating judgment; forethought and planning; fitting means to ends; carrying a planned activity through, judging the project and one's self by means of it, and thus making ready for further self-guided action. Purposing, in this full sense and range, is nothing less than the process—and it alone contains the generative force—whereby one comes to one's self as a person. Used collectively, it is the democratic process. Our theme represents, therefore, a part of the general problem of how democracy can come into existence, and how it can improve itself.[2]

Although the foregoing excerpt from Dr. Coe's book is short and simply written, it is nevertheless a remarkable summary of the central meanings and values contained in the New Education. We can perhaps best get at these meanings if we trace them to their original sources in recent philosophic thought and in democratic social and political movements. In this connection, it should be emphasized that the New Education did not evolve from the cerebrations of men who lived in a social vacuum, uninfluenced by the intellectual, social, and political currents of their time. On the contrary, the New Education was a deliberate effort on the part of its founders to embody in an actual school emphasis and purpose some of the deep-moving aspirations of men and women committed to the scientific way of thought and the democratic way of living.

---

[2] George Albert Coe, *Law and Freedom in the School* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), p. vi.

Foundational in Dr. Coe's summary statement is the recognition that a democratic society is a society in which individual human beings belong to the realm of *ends,* and in which all institutional arrangements—economic, governmental, political, military, social, and religious—belong to the realm of *means*. And, as means, these institutions are to be judged by the people who live under and through them in terms of what they contribute to their own enrichment and to their life satisfactions. As Bertrand Russell has well stated:

> Reverence for human personality is the beginning of wisdom, in every social question, but above all in education. No man is fit to educate unless he feels each pupil an end in himself, with his own rights and his own personality, not merely a piece in a jig-saw puzzle, or a soldier in a regiment, or a citizen in a state.[3]

But there is more to Dr. Coe's perception than the affirmation that a good society is one in which individual human beings are treated as ends, and never merely as means. The revolutionary proposal of the New Education that is clearly enunciated in the statement of Dr. Coe is that the child is potentially a person, and that the best way to make him a mature, responsible human being is to treat him during his life at school as a person; namely, to provide him with opportunity to engage in genuine, purposeful life activities, in which he will be required to select among his own conflicting desires or ends through discriminating judgment, and through this actual experience of forethought and planning will learn to create dependable means for carrying through his purposes, and will progressively learn to judge the product of his activity and planning as well as himself by means of the concrete outcomes of his undertakings.

For Dr. Coe, and his colleagues in the New Education, purposing of this kind is nothing less than the process whereby one grows into personhood. It is clear that for Dr. Coe the "minimum essential" for education is to provide a program in which this kind of pupil purposing can go on, because it is by means of it that we find both the motive for and the means of developing our human potentialities.

---

[3] Paraphrased from Bertrand Russell in his article, "Freedom Versus Authority," *Skeptical Essays* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1928), p. 205.

All thoughtful progressive educators seem to share something of this faith in wholehearted purposeful activity which Dr. Coe has made so central in his discussion. For them, this is one of the basic meanings of democracy. As Dr. Coe emphasizes, it is this purposeful practice when "used collectively," that is, by communities, which is the heart of the moral meaning of democracy. It is small wonder, therefore, that these leaders of the New Education have sought to create a school in which this kind of group activity would be central and constant, not peripheral and sporadic. They are convinced that it is through such purposeful group activity that persons come to be, and that the values of democracy are experienced and learned.

THE DYNAMIC UNIVERSE. But the New Education has additional philosophical roots. Practically all of its philosophical leaders were profoundly influenced by the evolutionary conception of a world that is not static but is still in process of change and development. They perceived that this dynamic universe, with its ultimate traits of change and uncertainty, is one in which the experience of the human being is necessarily experimental in nature, and they believed that it is immoral to chain the immature child to beliefs, habits, and attitudes that make no provision for the fact that events develop in novel and unprecedented ways. Here again the emphasis was placed on purposeful activity through which the individual would learn to think and to deal creatively with the emerging life conditions that would confront him.

In his classic, *Education for a Changing Civilization,* William H. Kilpatrick calls attention to the educational implications of a dynamic universe as well as to the new condition in social affairs which man faces now that he "has discovered a method of making discoveries" and has "invented a method of making inventions." Earlier than most educational theorists he saw the revolutionary implications for human behavior and learning in this new state of affairs. He asserts that:

> Our duty is so to prepare the rising generation to think that they can and will think for themselves, even ultimately, if they so decide to the point of revising or rejecting what we now think. Our chosen beliefs will have to stand this ordeal. If they are worthy to survive, the probabil-

ities are that they will stand this test. If they cannot stand this test, the probabilities are that they ought not to survive. As soon then as we take the lid off the universe our claim to fasten our conclusions on our children vanishes. We must free our children to think for themselves.[4]

A Functional Theory of Mind. The evolutionary conception also led Dewey and others associated with him to an emergent or functional theory of mind. This functional interpretation of mind emphasized the importance of having the child learn, not by rote memorization, but through purposeful interactions with his environment, both physical and social. The young become possessed of minds, not through original endowment, but by learning to get the meaning of things involved in their experience. Meaning is not an original possession; neither is it something gained merely by learning to reproduce sounds; it is a property of the behavior of the living creature in his surroundings. The child acquires the meaning of things when he learns how to behave with reference to them, that is, through understanding of what can be done with them and what is to be expected of them. In sum, meaning is anticipation: behavior guided by the potentialities of the affairs with which one has to do.

Through his analysis of the complete act of thought, Dewey formulated the experience of experimental or research science in terms of ordinary behavior. In his *How We Think,* he developed an educational procedure which is grounded in this functional view of the concept and the operational or behavioral view of mind. Here again the emphasis is necessarily on a purposeful, functional curriculum. The supreme need of the growing child is opportunity to learn to think in varied forms of doing—in those significant and responsible forms of doing which will cause him to formulate, to test, to expand, and to revise whatever he develops in the way of ideas. We miss the fundamental meaning of the functional curriculum if we do not perceive that it was never intended to give sanction to a random form of child activity, but was rather conceived as a distinctive form of rigorous intellectual training in which the child would become a mature person through learning to think imaginatively and responsibly about the conditions and the consequences of his activity. We may be sure that an educational practice grounded in the fundamentals of the methodology of scientific inquiry will make its rigorous and consecutive intellectual demands on the young if they are guided in their practice by competent teachers.

---

[4] William Heard Kilpatrick, *Education for a Changing Civilization* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), p. 60.

A BASIC ETHICAL CONCEPTION IN THE NEW EDUCATION. Finally, a basic ethical conception is also involved in the New Education. As we have seen, this ethical conception is grounded in a faith in the potentialities of ordinary human beings. From religion this outlook took the value that the ultimate object of moral consideration is the individual human being; from democracy it took the conception of a cooperative human group directing its own affairs in terms of its own reactions to the institutions and laws under which its members live; from science it took the principle that all concepts are functional, that is, instruments of prediction, utilization, and control; from scientific method it took the idea that the tests of truth lie within, not outside, human experience; and from organic evolution it took the notion that man is emergent, that is, in a continuous state of "becoming," and that mind denotes a distinctive mode of behavior made possible through the use of symbols, not a mysterious entity derived from some supernatural source.

Dewey unified all of these various insights under his concept of *growth* as the supreme directive principle, and he also gave them an inclusive educational formulation in his theory of education as "the continuous reconstruction of experience." The following two excerpts from his *Democracy and Education* contain the essence of both his moral and his educational meaning. As one would anticipate, for Dewey, these two meanings were intimately interrelated. Concerning growth he says:

> Our net conclusion is that life is development, and that developing, growing is life. Translated into its educational equivalents, this means, first, that the educational process has no end beyond itself; it is its own end; and that, second, the educational process is one of continual reorganizing, reconstructing, transforming. . . . Since in reality there is nothing to which growth is relative save more growth, there is nothing to which education is subordinate save more education.[5]

Concerning the nature of education, Dewey declares:

> We thus reach a technical definition of education: It is that reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience, and which increases the ability to direct the course of subsequent experience. The increment of meaning corresponds to the increased perception of the connections and continuities of the activities in which we are engaged. . . . The other side of an educative experience is an added power of subsequent direction or control. To say that one knows

---

[5] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), pp. 59-60.

what he is about, or can intend certain consequences, is to say, of course, that he can better anticipate what is going to happen; that he can, therefore, get ready or prepare in advance so as to secure beneficial consequences and avert undesirable ones.[6]

STRENGTHS IN THE VALUE BELIEFS OF THE NEW EDUCATION

RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUALITY. Viewed from the standpoint of values, the foregoing interpretation of education has elements of great strength. In the first place, in its emphasis on the supreme worth of human personality it is in harmony with the deepest ethical insights of the great spiritual traditions of mankind. In a sense, the American leaders responsible for this educational outlook have made a creative extension of the basic ethical principle of regard for the person, for they have insisted that the child as well as the adult should be treated as a human being, and that the school should be so organized that it will take into account the unique potentialities of each pupil and seek to make him a genuine partner in the determination of the course of his own education.

A CHANGING WORLD AND THE FREE SEARCH FOR TRUTH. In the second place, this theory of education takes frank account of the revolutionary developments in the modes of living and the modes of thinking of modern man. It is grounded in the scientific conviction that human security and progress depend upon the free search for truth, and it believes that there is nothing in the advance of knowledge which can threaten any value worthy to survive. This conception of education has also boldly assumed that the golden age of mankind need not be accepted as something which lies in the distant past; on the contrary, it has confidence that our new knowledge and new powers of control can, if properly utilized, make possible a pattern of human living far superior to anything that the bulk of the earth's population has hitherto experienced. Despite the charges of some of its critics, it does not hold to the romantic notion that the development of this new era is inevitable; it merely points to the fact that the resources for such a human advance are available if we have the faith and the intelligence to make use of them.

SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT. In the third place, this theory of education has all along fostered scientific study of the child as well as all phases of the process of human development.

---

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90.

Although it has never assumed that education can be made into an exact science, it has constantly held that we have much to gain from the scientific study of all aspects of the care and nurture of the young. It is convinced that the formulation of educational purposes will be more adequately carried on when the process is frankly grounded in the findings of science about both social and individual affairs.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE NEW EDUCATION. This experimentalist conception of education has indubitably exerted great influence over the actual work of our schools. Interestingly enough, it has won its greatest successes at the two ends of the educational ladder—that is, in childhood education and in education for the more mature students. Thus far, its achievements have been less marked at the high-school and the junior-college level. It is not without its significance that private schools—both religious and secular—whose leaders often attack the functional curriculum have nevertheless been forced by the demands of parents to depart from their traditional practices and to incorporate many of the features of the New Education into their programs.

Beyond all question the success which the New Education has won is well merited, for it undoubtedly marks a great advance over the older "listening schools" with their authoritarian methods of discipline, and their strict emphasis on memoriter processes and their endless reciting of lessons which frequently carry a minimum of meaning for those who are engaged in handing back what they have learned.

But experience has also shown that admirable as this theory of education is it is not wholly free from ambiguities. Experience has in addition shown that these ambiguities have resulted in unfortunate educational practices on the part of certain groups. In the remainder of this chapter we shall seek to identify some of the more serious of these ambiguities and to describe how they have led to certain harmful educational consequences.

SOME AMBIGUITIES IN EXPERIMENTALIST INTERPRETATIONS

CULTURAL NURTURE AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT. We shall begin with the basic summary of the activity program as outlined by George Coe. According to Dr. Coe, pupil purposing, in its full sense and range, "is nothing less than the process whereby one comes to one's self as a person." There is certainly much truth in this proposition. We know that as adults *we can give neither freedom nor responsibility to the child*. Each must be *earned* through the kind of purposeful experiencing that Dr. Coe admirably describes, that is, by growth in ability to select among conflicting desires and purposes through discriminating judgment, and by actual effort to fit means to ends, and by learning to carry a projected activity through to completion, and by developing the habit of judging the product and oneself by means of the actual results attained in each assumed project. Without purposeful undertakings of this kind, the immature do not develop into resourceful human beings competent to form reasonable expectations and equipped with the skills and techniques required to deal with life affairs as they emerge.

But the findings of social and educational psychology have also made it quite clear that wholehearted effort on the part of the immature is by no means all that is involved in the process of becoming a human being. All available evidence indicates that feral children, no matter how enterprising they may be in their organic make-up, do not become human. In other words, nurture in and by a culture is required to develop a human being. As John Dewey has himself emphasized, "everything which is distinctively human is learned, not native, even though it could not be learned without native structures which mark man off from other animals."[7] In sum, the process of becoming a person is a dual process—it involves "whole-hearted purposing"; *it also involves increasing mastery of the tools and the knowledge which man has already invented and discovered*. Language and number are two of these basic tools, and any educational program which is indifferent to the success of its pupils in the mastery of these indispensable means of intelligence is in reality not doing what it should to help the young become responsible human beings.

A kind of answer can, of course, be made to the foregoing criticism. It can be said that the best way to acquire knowledge and all necessary tools and techniques is through purposeful activity or inquiry. There is obviously a certain validity in this rejoinder, but we should be clear about what is implied in it. For the person who adopts this line of reasoning should see that the mastery of knowledge and desirable techniques and disciplines is tacitly accepted in his argument as *an inherent part of the process of pupil activity and*

---

[7] John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927), p. 154.

inquiry. Obviously, there is an important difference between a school that holds that the one essential is wholehearted pupil purposing and the school which is alert to have its young learn important bodies of knowledge and basic disciplines, but which believes that the best means of getting these things learned is through a functional curriculum in which the young are given opportunity to exercise initiative and to engage in purposeful, or meaningful, projects.

Unfortunately, there have been those who have exalted pupil purposing at the expense of content or subject matter. It is time that the opposition between the two be eliminated. America has great need today of young people who have paid the intellectual price of becoming masters of the exacting crafts through which our technological civilization is maintained. Those of us who profoundly believe in the values of the New Education have a responsibility to see that it not only gives children a satisfying school experience but also breeds in them the attitudes, the disciplines, the knowledge, and the characteristics required to meet the demands that are now placed upon our country. There is significant evidence which shows that in order to get the one, we need not sacrifice the other.

The Study of Society and the Study of Children. Something of the same ambiguity is inherent in certain interpretations that have been put upon the excerpt from Dr. Kilpatrick quoted above. This statement emphasizes that we live in a world in which events develop in novel and unpredictable ways, and that in this dynamic, open universe we have no moral right to fix ways of thinking and behaving in the young so that they will be unable to modify them when developments in life circumstances require such modification. There can be no doubt that Dr. Kilpatrick has made a primary contribution in this emphasis upon a world in which change is real, and in his steadfast opposition to any program of education which seeks to preadjust the young to an assumed fixity of conditions.

But as excellent and well grounded as this educational emphasis is, experience has shown that it can be interpreted in ways that are harmful. In fact, this emphasis on change and uncertainty needs qualification in certain important respects. Dr. Kilpatrick himself has always stood for fixing certain attitudes and behaviors in the young. He has, for example, taken a positive position on the value of reflection and the crucial importance of introducing the young to the scientific way of dealing with their varied life problems. Now, obviously such emphasis on the scientific way of thinking cuts out a good many alternative methods on which human beings have long put their dependence.

An educational methodology that is grounded in the scientific pattern of thinking is bound to teach the young, through their daily experience, that acting on impulse, automatic reliance on authority and tradition, and trust in sheer trial and error are all inferior modes of responding to the demands of human living. In sum, the activity curriculum is grounded in Dewey's analysis of the complete act of thought, and this analysis is a masterly effort to describe the various logical elements involved in that intellectual procedure we call science. Clearly a school which makes this experimental method of inquiry its basic method of instruction will be *fixing* a whole complex of attitudes, techniques, and loyalties in the young. Dr. Kilpatrick would be the first to affirm this, and he has never meant by an activity school a school that is indifferent to the moral implications of the operational logic of experimental science.

Nor are the values which Dr. Kilpatrick has sought to breed in the young restricted to those of experimental inquiry. Equally fundamental in his philosophy of life and education is his emphasis on social and political democracy. He has wanted the school organized so that in all of its activities—curricular, extracurricular, organizational, and administrative—it would exhibit the finest that man has thought and learned to live in democratic human relationships. Nor is this all. Dr. Kilpatrick is also concerned that the American children achieve an adequate historical perspective, and for him an adequate perspective on American life involves an appreciation of our democratic heritage.

Both Dewey and Kilpatrick have long recognized that human beings are creatures of memory. Now memories are not inborn; they are built in and through experience. It is because of them and the moral sentiments inherent in them that we respond as we do to the problematic life situations which we constantly encounter. Unless one realizes that in this deeper sense the experimentalists are engaged in developing basic intellectual and emotional dispositions in each child he will be confused about the deeper moral purpose that animates their educational activity. At this point a distinction must be made between basic attitudes and moral principles that pervade all behavior, on the one hand, and specific beliefs or propositions, on the other. The latter certainly must be kept open to correction by subsequent experience and inquiry, but it is misleading to suppose that we can educate and leave it up to each child to determine by himself what his controlling dispositions and objects of allegiance are to be. No individual is the sole architect of his own style of life.

Moreover, the world we encounter has its stable as well as its novel elements—its continuities, its recurrences, and its dependable correlations along with its uncertain and unpredictable aspects. Few have given more attention to the study of the emerging characteristics of our interdependent, technological society than Dr. Kilpatrick. Thus he has shown by his deeds as well as by his writing that he is fully aware that a new world is in process of development, and that within limits we can describe the conditionalities, the coercions, as well as the possibilities of this new world. *We misconstrue the whole tendency of his educational thought, in my opinion, whenever we assume from his emphasis on the dynamic character of industrial society that it is not important for teachers to study the nature of this new society and to trace out by careful analysis its implications for the nurture of the young.* For many years, Dr. Kilpatrick has emphasized that study of society and study of the child are both essential aspects of the work of the teacher.

The Misconception of Laissez Faire in Education. We turn now to a consideration of Dewey's famous dictum "that the educational process has no end beyond itself; it is its own end," and his companion statement "that the educational process is one of continual reorganizing, reconstructing, transforming . . ." and "since in reality there is nothing to which growth is relative save more growth, there is nothing to which education is subordinate save more education."[8] Probably few statements about education have been more quoted than these sentences from Dewey on the ultimate moral purpose of education. Taken in its historical context this statement is clear and has an important and valid meaning. The declaration was made as a protest against both secular and religious movements which had attempted at various times and in many cultures to make education the mere instrument for the cultivation of their own favored views, and this irrespective of whether these views were in line with known scientific facts, or whether they were an expression of the deep moving aspirations of the common people.

Throughout his life Dewey was thoroughly opposed to all narrow interest groups seeking to control education in order to inculcate

---

[8] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, pp. 59-60.

372.24
623

their own "pet prejudices" into the dispositions and habitual responses of the young. For Dewey, there was something immoral about any attempt to impose patterns of life and thought on the rising generation by a process that deliberately curbs inquiry and refuses to give the young rational explanations for the things they are taught, as well as for the principles of conduct which the school authority requires that they observe. Such authoritarian and repressive practices during his lifetime seemed to him the very negation of the meaning of democratic education. As Dewey viewed it, the basic purpose of education was "the liberation of intelligence," and he believed that this liberation could be achieved only as the growth of the child was made the supreme purpose of the school, and that learning or "acquiring" should be so managed that it comes as a function of "purposeful inquiring."

But the record clearly shows that Dewey's statement has been given other and different interpretations from those just sketched. For example, some groups have used his declaration that "there is nothing to which growth is relative save more growth" to justify the view that all adult direction of the experience and learning of the young is an immoral exploitation, because each child, in their opinion, is unique and therefore should be given full opportunity to work out his own personality and career quite apart from the guidance and imposition of the mature members of his group. Dewey was caustic in his comments on this practice of *laissez faire* in education. He repeatedly emphasized that the child would in any event derive his ideas and motivations from some social source, and that he could not see why suggestions taken from the "bill-board," the "movies," the "newspaper," the "propaganda" of narrow pressure groups were in any way to be regarded as superior to the considered insights of teachers who have presumably been educated for their function and who have been duly appointed to their educational positions of public trust. In short, Dewey held that education does not develop by its own inner principles; he also recognized that "innumerable possible selves" are given in the native endowment of each child, and that the one which becomes the *actual* self *depends upon the course of experiencing of the child, not upon the spontaneous unfolding of some inborn psychological latency*. Whatever Dewey had in mind when he stated that growth is relative to nothing "save more growth," he did not mean that parents and teachers should adopt a stupid, hands-off policy and permit each child to behave according to the promptings of his own momentary impulses. Dewey always regarded seriously the role of teachers and believed that one of the supremely important human tasks was the responsible guidance of the process of experience through which the immature become self-directing, resourceful human beings.

In a later discussion, Dewey made plain his own view that education is necessarily a function of a definite form of group living. For example, in *The Educational Frontier* he declared:

> Any social conception remains formal and abstract which is not applied to some particular society existing at a definite time and place. Factors of time and place do not receive recognition as long as nominal social conceptions of education are not connected with the concrete facts of family, industry, business, politics, church, science in this country. If we are not content with formal generalities (which are of value only as an introduction of a new point of view), they must be translated into descriptions and interpretations of the life which actually goes on in the United States of today for the purpose of dealing with the forces which influence and shape it.[9]

It is clear from this statement that Dewey considered his earlier principle that "there is nothing to which education is subordinate save more education" an incomplete formulation of his interpretation of education. He knew too much of anthropology and sociology not to understand that the school is a public agency through which the young are introduced to the ways of life and thought of their society. To be sure, he never viewed education as a one-way process, and he always wanted it so conducted that the program of education would be a criticism as well as an expression of the society in which it is carried on. He believed that in a democratic society which aims consciously at its own improvement, and not at the mere perpetuation of the *status quo*, education could and should serve as one of the positive agencies for the development and the peaceful reconstruction of the laws and institutions of its own society. All this Dewey believed and cogently argued, but he never assumed that the school should prepare the child to live in a social vacuum. He always perceived that one of the primary functions of the school was to equip the child to live as a creative member of his own society.

The issue involved at this point is fundamental. Today we live in a closely integrated, interdependent world, and we are already taking the first important steps in the direction of the development of a world organization which through a program of mutual security will provide an alternative to the ancient war system. Already some of our schools are on special occasions flying two flags—one that of the United States, the other that of the United Nations. The controversy that has developed over this two-flag plan shows that many are restless and uneasy as we seek to transcend in specific, functional ways the absolute sovereignty of the nation-state. Obviously, education has its important role in preparing the oncoming generation for these developing world relationships and responsibilities. Even the reactionary recognizes that in this field the school must educate for a world that is in process of formation, not for one whose extreme nationalistic patterns are being disintegrated by the relentless movement of events.

---

[9] William Heard Kilpatrick (ed.), *The Educational Frontier* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1933), Chapter II, p. 34.

But it is important that we think straight about just what is involved during this transitional period. The United Nations is an organization of *nations*, and, although its basic principles presuppose the gradual modification of these national entities, they also presuppose their indefinite perpetuation. In any foreseeable future this condition is likely to continue, unless of course revolutionary and unpredictable transformations are brought about by a global atomic war. A primary purpose of democratic education at this time is to do what it can to prevent the occurrence of this world war, while at the same time the struggle is maintained in adequate strength to preserve the conditions essential to a free and democratic civilization.

It is in this fateful context that educational values must be determined and educational policies constructed. Of one thing we may be sure: the children enrolled in American schools are going to become American citizens. This elemental point is settled by the facts of life. Our problem in education, therefore, is to recognize this plain fact and to seek to make of our young the most adequate kind of American citizens. Growth for our period must be defined in these concrete terms. For the moment, our country wields great material, military, political, and moral power in world affairs. The very future of human freedom for generations to come may be determined by the manner in which this power is used. Obviously, the most effective use of our power for democratic world ends requires that we resolve our own domestic economic, racial, political, and religious problems in such a way that our unity will be increased. The unity of the American people will be strengthened only as we move to implement our democratic ideals in those areas of our life where they have long been negated by the actual practices of our country.

Thus, education in a social sense should not today be construed as being "its own end." It has the sobering responsibility of developing a group of Americans who will make our country strong by the democratic resolution of its serious inner tensions and injustices and who, at the same time, will evolve wise, courageous, and dependable world policies so that our national power shall count for world security, peace, and material and cultural progress.

THE CRUX OF THE VALUE PROBLEM. One does not exaggerate when he emphasizes that the crux of the value problem for our period is in this two-front struggle—domestic and international—for the preservation and extension of the democratic way of life. *Growth in its personal aspects, and education in its social phases, should be viewed from this perspective of the struggle to preserve a democratic civilization.* The humanist and experimentalist program of education must be recast in terms of the new opportunities and responsibilities which now confront the American people. In this chapter we have sought to identify some of the points in which the program of the New Education must be reformulated so that it will more satisfactorily correspond to the living realities of our time. The reformulation here defined, however, is a reaffirmation, not an abandonment, of the basic principles of the experimentalist orientation in education.

SUMMARY

America has been fortunate in that some of the most eminent leaders in general philosophy have made the theory and practice of education one of their major interests. This has been particularly the case with the experimentalist philosophers who have sought to develop an educational program in harmony with the scientific way of thought and the democratic way of living.

Their program is widely known as the New Education. It is grounded in a view of experience as a process of adjustment to a changing world marked by conditions both friendly and hostile to human interests, in a view of science as a self-regulating, self-correcting process of experimental inquiry through which beliefs are tested and developed, and in a view of democracy as a pattern of cooperative living in which human beings have the status of ends, and laws and institutions are evaluated and controlled by the people who live in and through them. On the basis of these scientific and democratic conceptions the experimentalists have developed a theory of education as a process of purposeful living and growth in which experience is continuously reconstructed so as to enrich meaning and increase power of control. The functional curriculum of the New Education movement is a product of the conviction that it is through purposeful reconstructive activity of this type that the child develops the full stature of his being.

Values such as respect for human personality, the free search for truth through cooperative experimental procedures, and the right of people to determine the ends for which they shall live are elements of great strength in the New Education. These principles of education will not be repudiated so long as the American people continue to cherish the freedoms and the disciplines of science and democracy.

Nevertheless there are certain misconceptions and ambiguities associated with this view of the purposes and the means of education. Actual experience with the New Education has shown that it suffers from ambiguities such as the following:

1. The assumption that education as growth is an autonomous process controlled by its own inner laws and is not subject to adult evaluations of the society in which it is carried on.
2. The assumption that because we live in an open growing universe we have no moral right to cultivate stable patterns of attitude and behavior in the young.
3. The view that it is undemocratic to nurture the young in the values, the attitudes, and the loyalties which are the foundation of a free society.
4. The failure to balance the principle that freedom is a condition for the growth of intelligence with the equally fundamental principle that we become free as we become intelligent.
5. An uncertain view of the role of adult guidance in the education of the young, because of failure to take due account of the role of culture in the creation of human beings.

This chapter was designed to suggest ways of resolving these confusions so that the New Education can function more effectively in preserving and improving democratic civilization.

REFERENCES

COE, GEORGE ALBERT, *Law and Freedom in the School.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924.

DEWEY, JOHN, *Democracy and Education*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916.

———, *The Public and Its Problems*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927.

KILPATRICK, WILLIAM H., *Education for a Changing Civilization*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.

——— (ed.), *The Educational Frontier*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1933.

RUSSELL, BERTRAND, "Freedom Versus Authority," *Skeptical Essays*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1928.

CHAPTER III

Dynamics of Learning in Childhood Education[1]

ONE of the classroom teacher's most interesting and rewarding experiences is to study and guide children's impressive potentialities for learning. Partly as a result of what happens to them in school, a vital part of the environment of childhood, boys and girls fulfill or fail to fulfill their personal and social promise in the culture of which they are becoming a part.

As a result of his propensities for learning, the child's behavior becomes progressively modified, improved adjustments are achieved, new skills and knowledge are acquired. All this learning is either essential for survival, as in the case of the organism's basic needs and drives, or it contributes to satisfying, productive living and development of the personality. The plasticity, the pliability, even the immaturity of the young child's nervous system account for the enormous range of learning of which the human infant is capable.

As they guide the learning process, the parent and teacher achieve a kind of immortality in the subsequent lives of the children they have influenced, for good or ill, in helping to determine the nature and quality of the learning of these boys and girls.

WHAT IS LEARNING?

LEARNING DEFINED. Learning has been defined as the change or improvement in performance which comes with practice or experience. It is the process through which experiences take on new meaning, skills are acquired, and practiced acts become habitual. As the result of learning, the individual can do something better than he did it before. He performs with increased efficiency whether through economy of time and effort, through improvement of quality, or through both.

Learning is adaptive behavior achieved under strongly motivating circumstances. Changes and improvements in response are greatest when they satisfy basic needs of the learner and are in line with his needs and purposes.

---

[1] This chapter was written by Gertrude Hildreth, Brooklyn College.

Clarifying the Meaning of Learning. Learning is a term associated with many meanings, depending on the nature of the learning and conditions affecting the learner. There are many kinds of learning represented in children's reactions both in and out of school. The learning tasks confronting the school-age child vary in scope and complexity. Some are simple habits—for example, brushing one's teeth or cleaning up one's plate at meals. Some habits involve complex integrations and long practice for high efficiency, as in learning to play tennis.

While some learning goals are achieved in a short time with relatively little practice, e.g., acquiring the ability to put on or take off one's mittens, others are highly complex because they involve the use of symbols. Common examples of symbolic learning, for instance, include the child's mastery of the multiplication tables and learning to read. Learning sometimes requires memorizing facts, as, Where is Calcutta? Who was Benjamin Franklin? The learning involved in many school experiences is linked with gaining new ideas and concepts: How did our country, the United States of America, come about? What is a glacier? Achieving personal adjustments and responding in social situations represent still other kinds of learning.

Generalized attitudes may be learned that lead to more effective living, as in successfully taking care of valuable equipment or showing courtesy to others.

Some learnings are chiefly psychomotor in character, as when one learns to skate or to swim. There are many skills which are dependent upon the integration of motor responses and ideo-symbolical thinking, e.g., playing the piano, or learning to typewrite.

Some learning is done through forming simple associations: avoiding being burned by the stove flame or through contact with a hot plate. Other learning has more of a problem-solving aspect—what to do in case of rain when fair weather was anticipated.

In some cases the learning task is quite novel, as when a child first endeavors to ride a bicycle. In other instances previous learnings play a large role, such as learning a foreign language after having become proficient in the mother tongue or learning to play the flute after studying the piano.

From the above generalizations it may be inferred that the learning process is indeed subtle and varied, challenging to child and teacher and parent as they work together to create better environments in our elementary schools.

Essential Elements in the Learning Situation

There are many circumstances which influence the progress of learning, some favorably, others adversely. These are, first, the nature of the learner himself, and second, the conditions that affect him in the course of learning.

Readiness. Whether or not the learner is interested and motivated or *ready* to learn will influence the outcomes. The *whole* child participates in learning—not merely his mind but his physical and emotional make-up as well. Age maturation is a commonly recognized factor in childhood learning. The child succeeds in learning to tie his shoelaces, to eat with silverware, to use the mother tongue, to write his name, to count, or to tell time only as soon as his developing nervous system permits.

Transfer. There is a relation between old learning and new learning. Transfer from the old to the new in some cases facilitates learning; in other cases it is a negative influence, inhibiting or interfering with the new learning. When one is trying to learn French, for instance, the previously studied German vocabulary keeps getting in the way.

Social Milieu. The social environment in which a child is reared and the responses he makes to social situations largely determine the sorts of things he will learn. The child's personality is formed through his social contacts. The environment will normally include parents, teachers, and other adults who are guides to the young during the growth process.

Among school children of similar age, marked differences in rate and quality of learning are found, owing to the conditions that control learning mentioned above—the characteristics of the learners and the influences that affect them.

Progress in the Development of Learning Theory

Whether or not children's learning in the school environment is successful or inefficient will depend upon the understanding teachers have (1) of the learning process during the childhood years and (2) of the mutual relations between learning and teaching. An educator's views on learning are certain to be reflected in the educational objectives set up, the curriculum, the planning of lessons and activities, the grouping of pupils, the selection of textbooks—even in the furnishings of the classrooms and the equipment of the school plant. Authorities agree that education can become truly scientific only to the degree that objectives and methods are determined on the basis of valid and reliable evidence as to children's learning processes.

Educational practices in the past have often reflected unsound or erroneous conceptions of how children learn. Even today in many schools there are practices that run counter to sound evidence as to how children learn. These questionable practices include:

1. Conflict between the teacher's goals for pupils and the pupils' own needs and purposing.
2. Regarding the pupils as passive recipients of learning imposed by the teacher rather than as active participants in the process.
3. Emphasis on drill of isolated items as the foundation or basic tool in school lesson learning.
4. The prevalence of faculty psychology: the notion that the mind consists of various faculties that can be trained in a general sense, e.g., the notion that learning poetry "trains the memory" or that doing hard arithmetic problems "trains the reasoning faculty."
5. The prevalence of verbalism in school learning, with the pupils parroting the teacher or textbook instead of using oral and written language as a tool for intelligent thinking.
6. Faulty management of attitudes through injudicious use of rewards and punishments so that the child's attempts to learn are ineffective.

Some Milestones in the Development of the Psychology of Learning

Early Contributors. Interest in the learning process goes back to ancient times, but the scientific study of learning processes dates from the latter part of the nineteenth century, when psychologists began to carry on experiments in memory and practice in the psychological laboratory. The work on memory of the German psychologist, Ebbinghaus, published in 1885 marks the beginning of a long series of investigations of learning processes in both human and animal subjects.

The educational philosophers from Rousseau on down to the present era reached conclusions about the nature of children's learning based on their own firsthand knowledge of child life. Rousseau asserted that the child had needs of his own and mentality suited to their realization. He also believed that the child's normal curiosity was an adequate stimulus for learning the lessons of everyday living. Eighteenth-century efforts to teach children were often disastrous because, in his view, they ran counter to child nature.

Pestalozzi, the nineteenth-century educator, *was strongly influenced* by Rousseau. He considered firsthand learning through child activity the heart of the educative process. Later, William James (who is generally considered to be the first modern educational psychologist) formulated some rules to guide teaching and learning, notably on the nature of habit formation.

John Dewey's Contribution. John Dewey's pronouncements on learning in childhood have influenced educational method from 1900 to the present day. Dewey's theories concerning the ways children respond in a stimulating environment subsequently have been verified in laboratory studies and controlled observations of children in the act of learning. His simple generalization, "We learn what we do," became the watchword of educational leaders who experimented with new methods in laboratory schools.

Dewey asserted fifty years ago that it is difficult for a child to learn anything that is psychologically remote from his experience. Learning by doing requires making unique personal responses to the task at hand, a condition which forces the child to do his own thinking, to correct his errors in the light of experience. The child's own experience thus becomes the central factor in the learning process. Dewey appreciated the capacity of children for setting and solving their own problems of living and adjustment. Making discoveries was, in his view, the central requirement in all genuine learning.

Dewey and his followers deplored the tendency of schooling to divorce the child from the very situations in daily living which had such valuable lessons to teach. According to Dewey, learning must at all times be purposeful, so that the child will achieve understanding and grasp principles.

Good teaching from this point of view consists in *drawing out* children's abilities rather than *imposing* ideas on them. Dewey also demanded recognition of the child as a social being in his learning relationships. He pointed out the dangers and evils of verbalism in education at a time when the child's chief occupation in school was the memorizing of answers to questions propounded by the teacher—a practice certain to thwart creative thinking, the development of independence and resourcefulness, and inquiry into the meaning of things.[2]

Dewey also made a classic pronouncement about interest and effort in education which was at variance with the generally accepted view on the subject at that time.[3] He envisioned interest and effort as complementary, rather than opposing, forces in learning and education. Interest was conceived of as the motive power back of the effort required to learn, to study, to practice. Dewey asserted that effort was genuinely exerted only when the learner's or worker's interest was fully aroused in learning or responding. Formerly, educators thought effort was stimulated best by difficult and irksome tasks.

The popularity of the project method of the twenties and the activity movement of the thirties, supported by Dewey's philosophy of learning, reflected a common-sense reaction against the meaningless rote learning that had dominated schooling for so long.

INTERPRETATIONS OF THE LEARNING PROCESS

SOME COMPETING THEORIES. A number of different theories have been proposed to account for learning both in the lower animals and in human subjects. The basic ideas underlying several of these major theories which represent contrasting points of view will be outlined briefly. The principal theories toward which experimentation has been most vigorously directed are known as (1) connectionism, (2) conditioning, and (3) Gestalt psychology and field theory. The first two are commonly referred to as association theories. Gestalt principles and field theory are related in their basic concepts.

CONNECTIONISM. The earlier studies described learning chiefly as a process of association in which such factors as primacy, recency, contiguity, and intensity were controlling elements influencing the efficiency and permanence of learning. E. L. Thorndike, one of the chief exponents of connectionism or association theory, sought to define certain "basic laws" of learning. He concluded that through

---

[2] John Dewey, *How We Think* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1933). Also cf. Hollis Caswell, "Influence of John Dewey on the Curriculum of American Schools," *Teachers College Record*, 51:144-146, December, 1949.

[3] John Dewey, *Interest and Effort in Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913).

repetition the tendency to respond in the way which was practiced became increasingly easier as bonds between a stimulus and the learner's response were strengthened. He also concluded that *satisfaction* with results, or success, had a tendency to confirm learning. *Failure* or unpleasant effects proved to have an inhibiting or disintegrating influence on the learner.[4]

Connectionism has been identified with "trial and error" learning because in many of the experiments the animal or human subjects who were learning new tasks were placed in unfamiliar situations which required considerable "fumbling in the dark" and random behavior. While it was obvious that the learner's drives and goals played a considerable part in this type of learning, the connectionists were more concerned with the influence of reinforcing effects on subsequent trials than with the influence of purposes on the learner's behavior.

Conditioned Response and Behaviorism. The central concept in the conditioned response is associative shifting—a change in behavior in which a response normally made in one situation becomes shifted or attached to a new situation. The researches of the Russian physiologist, Pavlov, on the conditioning of reflexes in animals through temporal association caught the attention of American psychologists. J. B. Watson was among the first. Later, Hull, Hilgard, and many others believed they saw in the theory of conditioning an explanation of commonly observed learning processes in both the lower animals and human subjects. Watson based his psychology of behaviorism on principles of conditioning which were derived through further studies of the learning process in animals and infants. For a full account of experiments on conditioning and various interpretations Hilgard's book should be consulted.[5]

Conditioning can be illustrated with the example of the cat who shows signs of expecting to receive food when it hears the refrigerator door open and close, the burnt child who dreads the fire, or school children who become silent at the sound of the teacher's bell. Conditioning undoubtedly accounts for many simple learned reactions, some of which may be inadvertently acquired.

[4] For an elaboration of connectionism see E. R. Hilgard, *Theories of Learning* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948), and the three selections from E. L. Thorndike for which bibliographic data are given at the close of the chapter.

[5] Cf. Hilgard, *op. cit.*

Hull's interpretation of conditioning points to the relation between learning cues and responses, drives and rewards, and suggests the role played by the learner's purposes and insights.[6] Hull indicates that there are certain cues that guide learning and that all improvement depends upon reinforcement. The fact that conditioned responses are found to fade out without subsequent reinforcement suggests that it is not merely repeated trials that account for the learning.

GESTALT PSYCHOLOGY, CONFIGURATIVE LEARNING, AND FIELD THEORY. Gestalt psychology, as interpreted early in the century by the first proponents of this theory, Köhler[7] and Koffka,[8] gave a new direction to concepts of learning by emphasizing cognitive features, the role of mental organization, of meaning, and of insight as central factors in all learning processes. According to Gestalt theorists, perception is a dynamic process which involves seeing meaningful relations and which leads to the development of insight.

The frequency of successive trials, according to this theory, is less potent than the perception of an organizing principle, one discovered by the learner, which leads to the solution or the "end product" of learning. The period of trial and error presumably is cut short through *grasp of the meaning of the problem in terms of the total situation.* A long series of random trials and senseless errors is thereby made unnecessary under appropriate conditions which foster insight. Analysis of the whole field, the total setting of the problem, is a feature of Gestalt learning.[9] (See also references cited in footnotes 8 and 13.)

Lewin's more recent field theory of learning and behavior dynamics, although derived from Gestalt principles, introduces new concepts, particularly with reference to the role of personality and cultural factors in learning. Field theory takes account of the whole learner with reference to his total environment. Grasping the problem in its current setting (the field) is assumed to outweigh past experience in its effects on learning. Field theory, in other words, takes in a broader compass of conditions in the learner and circumstances in his background than any of the others.

---

[6] C. L. Hull, *Principles of Behavior* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1943).

[7] Wolfgang Köhler, *Gestalt Psychology* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1929).

[8] Kurt Koffka, *Principles of Gestalt Psychology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935).

[9] The interested reader is referred to writings by George W. Hartman, Edna Heidbreder, and E. R. Hilgard which are listed in the chapter bibliography.

AN APPRAISAL OF CONTRASTING THEORIES

HOW MUCH IN CONFLICT ARE CURRENT LEARNING THEORIES? At first glance the theories of learning touched upon above appear to be in direct conflict. The relative merits of behaviorism versus Gestalt psychology as differing explanations of learning have been hotly debated. One result is that teachers and others sometimes become confused when they try to discover the implications of learning theory for education. It is understandable if they wonder what the experimental psychologists at work in their laboratories have found that will aid them in directing the learning of school children.

In an effort to clarify the situation it seems worth noting that some of the differences between rival theories are more apparent than real; the theories to some extent prove to be *complementary* rather than mutually exclusive. There is less opposition, for example, between associative learning interpretations and Gestalt principles than appears on the surface. Unfortunately, the differences have been stressed more than the complementary aspects of these "rival" theories. At the same time it must be pointed out that the mutual relations among different theories have been indicated by Dashiell,[10] Gates,[11] McConnell,[12] and others.

Differences in interpretation have been due, in some cases, to differences in the subjects used in the experiments or differences in the conditions of the experiments. Learning theory must take into account the wide range of conditions under which learning takes place as well as variations in the personal characteristics, the readiness, the previous experiences and present circumstances of the learner. Learning principles that apply in relatively simple situations confronting the lower animals are not necessarily the same as those which may concern the human infant, the school child, or the adult confronted with more complex problems.

There is unquestioned evidence that cognition (the use of intelligence) plays a predominant role in all human learning, though the random fumbling enforced by the complex nature of some problems or puzzle situations might seem to belie this conclusion.

---

[10] John F. Dashiell, "A Survey and Synthesis of Learning Theories," *Psychological Bulletin,* 32:261-275, 1935.

[11] Cf. his chapter in *Learning and Instruction,* Forty-Ninth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950).

[12] McConnell also has a chapter in *ibid.*

IS CONNECTIONISM OBSOLETE? It seems unfortunate that connectionism, conditioning, and behaviorism have become associated in the popular mind with a mechanistic conception of learning, the results of such learning attributable to forces impinging on the individual unaffected by cognitive aspects of the learner's response or the use of intelligence. Thorndike, for instance, long ago recognized the role of ideas in learning and the part that reasoning played in the problem solving of children and adults. As early as 1900 he formulated practical suggestions for improving learning by helping the learner respond to the subtler elements or characteristics in the situation. Certainly there is no evidence that Thorndike and other connectionists opposed the idea of the learner's seeking meaningful connections or denied that meaningful connections were characteristic of human learning. Nor did Thorndike's theories oppose the idea of the learner's active response as an essential element in learning.

IS "TRIAL AND ERROR" IN ERROR? A belief widely held by educators today is that there is nothing respectable about "trial and error" as an explanation of human learning, that the concept is passé because it implies blind, unreasoned response on the part of a learner.

One reason that there *appears* to be such a wide chasm between "trial and error" learning, on the one hand, and insightful learning as interpreted by the field theorists, on the other, is that the discovery of relationships and principles useful to the learner is much more possible under some circumstances than others. This fact is, however, frequently due to differences in the nature of the problems and learning tasks, as well as to differences in the intelligence, readiness, and experience of the learner and to the role that instruction plays in the learning. A certain type of instruction, for example, might prevent the use of reasoning, whereas another type might guide the learner in the fullest use of his intelligence.

"Trial and error" is a common phenomenon in childhood learning whether the child is learning on his own initiative or under the guidance of the school. Observe any child learning to tie his shoelaces, to ride his birthday bicycle, to use his new tool set, to fly a box kite. There must necessarily be trials that are not immediately successful in terms of either the child's goals or the teacher's standards.

Whether or not the trials will be continued depends upon the valuation the child sets on achieving the goal. Whether or not there is much or little trial, and how much error there is, before the process is learned up to certain standards of perfection will depend upon a host of relevant and irrelevant factors that influence the course of the experimenting.

The role of reinforcement of the effects of learning is a principle of great significance for parents and teachers who would make their efforts in directing a child's responses in the learning situation more effective. That rewards stimulate further trial, that punishment prompts avoidance, squares with common-sense knowledge about children's behavior.

Goals and drives unquestionably play an important part in associative learning achieved by human subjects. The most effective learning takes place when the learner is seeking a goal with definite objectives and a clear view of his goal. This is the most powerful natural motivation. There is a relation between learning and motivation as shown by Thorndike's law of effect. The more recent interpreters of connectionism have interpreted learning through successive trials *as new integration, not mere mechanical repetition* of previous responses. Each new response is seen as a step in advance over the last.

Thorndike's law of effect *can be interpreted as learning* through meanings if we assume that the learner understands the meaning of the terms "right" and "wrong" or the significance of other rewards and punishments.

The learner is definitely goal-seeking as he makes his tentative trials, and he uses thinking as he becomes aware of the effectiveness or failure of his response, reacting in subsequent trials according to the effects. Here the learner is applying what he has learned to a new situation.[13]

A VIEWPOINT WITH REGARD TO CONDITIONING. As for the theory of conditioning and the behavioristic interpretation of learning, there is little evidence that even in the conditioned-reflex experiments with animals (which are far simpler than conditioning of more complex behavior in human subjects) temporal associations of old and new responses were sufficient for establishing the association.[14] Simple association certainly does not account fully for the conditioning of children that goes on every day in eating behavior, toilet training, the learning of fears, responding to the teacher's signals, and so on.

---

[13] E. R. Hilgard, *op. cit.*

[14] *Ibid.*

In conditioning experiments with human subjects beyond the period of earliest infancy it has become apparent that ideational thinking, language, and meanings became inextricably involved in the experiments, and that meanings played an important role in learning reinforcements as well as in responding to cues. Isolating the single response to be conditioned became a hopeless task.

The term "conditioned learning" is popularly applied to learned behavior such as rejoicing at a telegram containing good news. But this behavior is far more complex than the animal reflexes with which Pavlov dealt. Much more than mere association in time accounts for the learning. It must have been the *meaning* of the telegram for the recipient that brought out the responses. To use another illustration, the child learns to associate his father's reaching for a hat and coat with an invitation for a walk under certain circumstances. This response is due to conditioning *but it is also an intelligent one on the child's part.* Although connectionism and conditioning fail to account for all the facts about learning (in either animal or human subjects), there are elements in these theories that apply to basic types of childhood learning as observed under ordinary conditions.

Learning by association remains a sound concept that is useful in explaining certain childhood learning responses. In everyday instances of conditioning such as those already mentioned the laws of association have been at work. This is not to deny that the child learned through developing *meaningful* associations between one event and another that became related to it.

The Contribution of Gestalt and Field Theories. Gestalt psychology and field theories have received a warm welcome from educators because these theories have brought into central focus the role of intelligence and the learner's ability to think and reason in the learning process, a view that is in harmony with the teacher's knowledge of the fact that children use intelligence in learning.

The term "insight" signifies ideational thinking of which human beings are capable, the ability to profit from previous experience, to reflect, to generalize. As suggested above, insightful learning is interpreted as a carefully thought-through response which avoids the trial stage and leads almost immediately to success without need for further practice to stamp in the correct response.

As a matter of fact, suddenness in problem solving through insight or grasp of meaning of the parts in relation to the whole is not an invariable phenomenon in Gestalt learning experiments. Chance responses are not ruled out. In Gestalt experiments long series of trials were sometimes required before the subject caught on to the trick or gained the understanding that solved the problem. The Gestalt psychologists do not regard these experimental trials as blind, random, or meaningless but as the learner's efforts to come to grips with the conditions confronting him, to achieve understanding, and to organize his experiences.

Meaningful learning, in other words, is not devoid of trial and error. There may be considerable trial without success as the learner goes into the problem far enough to see its implications and meanings. Initial errors may be due to lack of experience and background. The initial trials are essential to explore the conditions of the problem to see which turn to take, to discover what sets of coordinations or which types of choices lead to the desired result. The wrong responses are not necessarily errors that will be permanently "stamped in" if the learner is fully motivated to keep on trying until he succeeds.

A distinguishing feature of complex versus simpler learning tasks is the number of trials and repetitions needed to perfect a skill to the point of proficient performance.

It seems evident that no one of the basic learning theories discussed above explains all processes of learning either in the lower animals or in human subjects. There are elements in all of the three interpretations that to some extent support what ordinary observation proves to be true of childhood learning under certain circumstances. In short, all the theories that have been proposed have something to contribute to an understanding of how children learn.

A Dynamic Conception of Learning in Childhood

If learning theory is to have application to childhood education it must take into account *all that is known about how children behave when they are trying to learn in a wide variety of situations* confronting school-age children. John Dewey's theories were ahead of their time and at variance with concepts of learning forty or fifty years ago, but they were in harmony with evidence from naturalistic studies of what children actually do—how they really behave when they learn.

Many years prior to the first announcements of Gestalt theory and related field theory an educational psychologist, Charles H. Judd, developed the view (as a result of learning studies with school children) that understanding, or a grasp of principles, played a large role in making learning permanent and correct and making new related learning possible. Since that time there have been numerous reports of childhood learning at all age levels resulting from observations made under a wide range of circumstances, some relating to children learning under their own impulses, others reporting teacher-directed learning. Lack of space prevents the inclusion of reports on these studies here, but they will be found in comprehensive texts on child psychology and in references at the end of this chapter.[15]

Attempts to determine how children learn are complicated by the fact that growth processes, changes in the organism due to maturation forces, and learning in response to environmental clues or direct instruction are not easily distinguished. By school age, however, the distinction between (1) growth process incumbent on the growing child because of basic organic urges and (2) learning in response to environmental conditioning becomes more clear cut.

CHILDHOOD LEARNING AND "COMMON SENSE." The essential facts about childhood learning are obvious to most intelligent parents and teachers who deal every day with children. Home-training and school-management problems would never be solved, children would go untrained, were it not for the fact that parents and teachers use common-sense judgment in managing children. However, the methods have often been expedient rather than the soundest or wisest in the light of what science has to report about management of learning and instruction in childhood.

IS THERE A SINGLE, BASIC THEORY OF LEARNING? Psychologists have debated whether or not there is some unified key theory that would account for all sorts of learning under all possible conditions. So far the outlook for an all-embracing theory looks discouraging. At least no one has come forward with a theory that will satisfy all the necessary conditions.

The same question may be asked with reference to childhood learning. Is there a unified key theory that will account for the basic types of learning observed in children? In some ways it would seem more expedient to attempt to formulate such a theory than to continue trying to reconcile divergent theories that explain learning through the study of subjects ranging all the way from the amoeba to men of genius. Conclusions from animal learning may or may not be relevant; they are relevant only when they confirm the facts of learning gained from actual observation of children.

---

[15] Cf. references to Brownell, Kuehner, and Rein; the Forty-First and Forty-Ninth Yearbooks of the National Society for the Study of Education; Hildreth; McConnell; Peterson; Stroud; Swenson.

UNDERSTANDING LEARNING IN CHILDHOOD. Any theory of learning pertaining to children of elementary-school age must take into account the fact that children's learning experiences at this age will be fairly complex, influenced by considerable previous experience at home and elsewhere. Such a theory must account (1) for incidental learning, that is, learning concomitant with other learning toward which the child's attention was directed; (2) for spontaneous learning, that is, learning done under the child's own impulses instead of being directed by parents or teachers; and finally (3) for direct learning of lessons, skills, or habits the child's elders have attempted to teach him.

The common denominator in any theories proposed to explain childhood learning throughout the elementary-school years will be an eager, active child who is bent on learning something. Learning, then, must be viewed as a *dynamic process* in which a child is interacting with some features of his environment because he is for subtle or obvious reasons prompted to do so. The central feature of childhood learning, whether simple or complex, child-selected or teacher-induced, *is experimentation in response to elements in the situation, the objective being to satisfy some basic need or to attain some goal toward which the learner is strongly motivated because it means something to him*. How successful results will be will depend upon many factors: the nature of the task, its simplicity or complexity, the learner's own readiness in terms of age maturation, his general mental ability to cope with a task, and his experiential background for new learning.

Careful day-to-day observations of children in the act of learning something suggest that learning in the childhood years is strongly influenced by the intellect. Children try, for instance, to use all the intelligence they can muster even in an apparently unintelligible situation, as when working a new jigsaw puzzle. They will try to think how to do it to the extent that they are able. They will even try to think in a meaningless situation.

At this point teachers may inquire, "Then why do the pupils make such glaring errors in responding to school tasks? Why do they so often fail?" The likely answer is that a more intelligent response was impossible under the circumstances in the nature of the imposed lessons or teaching methods applied in a dull, non-stimulating classroom. Either the children were not sufficiently interested in learning, their natural curiosity to learn was not aroused, or the task was too remote, too complex, or too abstract for anything save blind, mechanical responses.

Both adults and children are loath to learn senseless material, and become exasperated when set meaningless learning tasks.[16] Learning mechanically proves to be an irksome task. Children either give up or else try to invest a task with meaning. Unfortunately, the former outcome is the more likely.

Errors in *experimental trials* are not to be viewed as wholly bad or undesirable. Time and again the errors children make on their unsuccessful trials prove to be the only meaningful responses they could possibly make, as in the case of the second-grade child who told his mother the morning arithmetic lesson had been about handling the "duck eggs." Inquiry of the teacher proved the correct term to be the "decades" in arithmetic. The zeros in the problems undoubtedly strengthened the association with "duck eggs" in this rural child's mind.

Error may signify nothing more than a stage of incompleteness in learning, particularly in the developmental learning characteristic of childhood. If mature performance is the standard, in speech or handwriting, for instance, then assuredly the three-year-old in speaking and the seven-year-old in writing make errors every time they respond. To make m for E or to say "Her's gotted it" for "She has it" is erroneous from the adult's standpoint of correctness in language or handwriting, but these may be quite adequate responses for the three- and seven-year-old.

SOME PRINCIPLES OF DYNAMIC LEARNING IN CHILDHOOD

A DIAGRAMMATIC INTERPRETATION. Many principles of learning can be interpreted in terms of the various learning theories outlined above. The diagram on page 45 shows schematically the contribution that these theories make to a dynamic theory of learning in childhood. This diagram and the explanations to follow necessarily represent an oversimplification of the contribution of the different factors and their interrelationships.

---

[16] Cf. George Katona, *Organizing and Memorizing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940).

Motivation Through Drives. Motivation through the child's own drives is a characteristic of childhood learning. The child is impelled to learn because his needs and purposes demand that he make the response. Without drives the organism does not respond. The child's own purposing is an integral part of the learning process. A child learns what he wills and wishes to learn. His attitude must be favorable or else he turns away.

Common-sense reflection suggests the futility of trying to make children learn with any degree of security and permanence anything that is remote from their needs and interests. Children's interests furnish the incentives to learning. These interests are conditioned by inner growth urges, but the direction these urges take is largely influenced by circumstances of the environment such as the opportunity for doll play. The boy learns to repair his bicycle under the strong impetus he receives from his need to have his "bike" in good shape to get to school, to the beach, or to deliver newspapers.

Initial disinterest often can be changed to interest through good management so that motivation is stimulated through a more favorable attitude. A case in point is an eleven-year-old girl who was not interested in studying about South America at school. Subsequently she developed avid curiosity in learning more about Brazil when her uncle went there on a business trip and sent her some souvenirs.

The dynamic theory of childhood learning identifies interest with meaning and understanding. A child is interested in learning something he can understand, in the things that mean something to him.

The Principle of Experimental Trials. Experimental trial is an essential feature of children's attempts to learn even in fairly simple situations. Few children of elementary-school age can be expected to achieve success in learning a new skill on the first attempt or even after several trials. It is completely unrealistic to propose that practice or drill is unnecessary, and that sudden insight characterizes *all* children's learning if only the conditions are ideal. It is absurd to suggest that errorless responses should be expected of children under many circumstances unless preceded by meaningful practice.

Consider the ten-year-old learning to swim. No one could expect him to be successful on the first try. The first attempts at swimming will involve splashing, threshing about, and similar preliminary steps to hitting upon just the right coordination of movement. The child normally can be expected to keep on trying to learn, to use his head in evaluating results and in responding to instruction until he

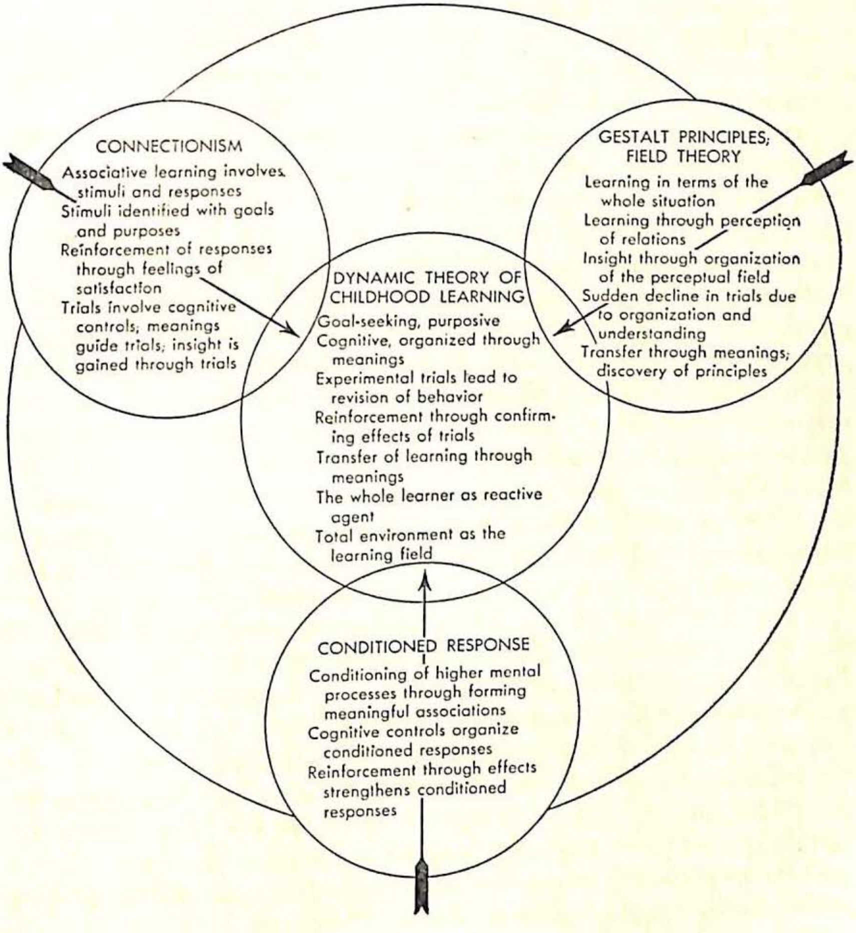

CONNECTIONISM
Associative learning involves stimuli and responses
Stimuli identified with goals and purposes
Reinforcement of responses through feelings of satisfaction
Trials involve cognitive controls; meanings guide trials; insight is gained through trials
GESTALT PRINCIPLES; FIELD THEORY
Learning in terms of the whole situation
Learning through perception of relations
Insight through organization of the perceptual field
Sudden decline in trials due to organization and understanding
Transfer through meanings; discovery of principles
DYNAMIC THEORY OF CHILDHOOD LEARNING
Goal-seeking, purposive
Cognitive, organized through meanings
Experimental trials lead to revision of behavior
Reinforcement through confirming effects of trials
Transfer of learning through meanings
The whole learner as reactive agent
Total environment as the learning field
CONDITIONED RESPONSE
Conditioning of higher mental processes through forming meaningful associations
Cognitive controls organize conditioned responses
Reinforcement through effects strengthens conditioned responses

Chart Showing Contributions of Various Learning Theories to a Central Dynamic Concept of Childhood Learning Processes can finally propel himself through the water. Feelings of increased confidence and of improvement have their effects, so that suddenly, it seems, the child can swim.

There will normally be even more fumbling trial and error when the child lacks readiness, when the problem is too difficult, or when it is the type of learning task that necessarily requires sustained practice, as in learning to play the violin with a measure of skill.

According to this dynamic concept, *experimental trial* is interpreted not as a blind series of drills with cumulative errors but as experimentation through which the child chooses alternatives which help him achieve his goals. The process may involve (1) *thinking and reasoning* with increased insight (in some tasks on a perceptual basis, e.g., learning to make the letters in his name), or (2) *increased understanding* of the situation, as in improvement in reading because he now knows more words and understands their correct meanings in sentences, or improvement in subtraction with borrowing because he has gained understanding of place values of the digits in the minuend and subtrahend.

Whether this experimental period is long or short depends both upon the conditions of the learner at the time and on other factors in the situation. When this experimenting is applied to tasks within the interest range and learning capacities of the child who is doing the experimenting, the trials can be expected to lead to initial discovery of adequate responses. These trials, even when repetitive, may be so meaningful that they lead to revision of behavior responses on an increasingly higher plane of performance.

The principle of experimental trials applies equally well:

1. To learning that has a large element of motor coordination (learning to ride a bicycle or play a musical instrument).
2. To learning that is more dependent upon thinking and memorizing, less on motor responses (the ability to deal with division of whole numbers or addition of fractions).
3. To skills that depend largely upon language (learning to read, learning to speak French, learning to make social contacts, to participate in discussion).
4. To the learning of attitudes: to be courageous, to be sympathetic toward unfortunates, to conserve things of value.

Learning Achieved Through Thinking, Grasp of Meaning, and Understanding. A dynamic conception of how children learn implies that learning involves the seeing and establishing of relations—a thinking process. The two-year-old improves in speech because he is *thinking* and *reflecting* as he speaks, and *understanding* the reactions that are made to his efforts to speak. A four-year-old improved in his attempts to draw trains because of his growing appreciation of relevant features gained through thinking during observing trains and pictures of trains. A six-year-old youngster improved in her ability to find a piece of candy hidden under a certain book in the library on successive days through thinking about its location. A ten-year-old begins to use the term "pyramids" correctly in his paper because he has learned the meaning of this term.

The research findings from a growing list of learning experiments with children suggest that conditions contributing to meaning aid learning, that learning without understanding is often futile, that there is little permanent learning and only scant applicability of learning from one situation to another without meaning.[17] Old habits can be changed if it is possible to change the meaning of the activity; they are less likely to be changed by admonitions such as "Stop doing it." Extending a series of trials (practice or drill) will never compensate for lack of meaning. On the contrary, as soon as meanings are gained the trials needed for final learning suddenly decrease. Meaningless repetition has the definitely opposite effect on learning. It leads to disorganization, to satiation. As a result the meaningful becomes meaningless.

The number of trials needed and the chance of error are definitely cut down by perception of the meaning and significance of the goal, as in puzzle-solving experiments.[18] Learning with understanding also helps to establish and to maintain favorable attitudes. Furthermore, children are more likely to discover their errors when they learn with understanding.

Skills cannot be learned *well* when divorced from meanings if they are actually to be applied in daily life use. While a pupil may learn blindly to use a tool without understanding how or why he is learning, this is learning the hard way and later it may fail in application. The child "forgets" how to do the new problem. To give an illustration, a refugee boy was determined to learn the lengths of all the major rivers in America before his arrival in this country. In reciting his lesson to someone he gave the Ohio as 220 miles instead of 1200 miles. Later through enriched geographic experiences he had no difficulty in remembering the facts because he learned them with full appreciation and understanding of the realities of the situation.[19]

---

[17] This view is supported, among others, by Brownell, Hilgard, McConnell, and Swenson. Cf. chapter bibliography.

[18] Gertrude Hildreth, *Child Growth Through Education* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), Chapter 3.

THE ROLE OF ACTIVITY IN CHILDHOOD LEARNING. A dynamic concept of childhood learning implies that the child is an active answer finder, not merely a passive recipient of instruction. This activity may be primarily physical, largely mental, or a combination of both.

There is considerable evidence that children profit more from learning through their own effort (which entails exploration with chance of error) than when they are given aids or crutches that reduce initial errors. The learner's initiative in the discovery of meaningful elements in learning is highly important.

Telling the pupil how to do a task or job before any trial is usually useless. The child has to do the experimenting *for himself* to get an understanding of the problem. A child is better off discovering for himself that 3 and 5 cubes make a pile 8 cubes high than being told "3 *and* 5 *are* 8. Be sure to remember it." He may make more error in discovering the fact but the learning has more chance of survival. The third-grader responding to 38 *plus* 27 for the first time does some thinking, some experimenting. There are a number of different ways to get the answer, as he soon discovers when he works with money, or counters, or with the figures themselves.

The child's activity in learning is not necessarily in the form of physical movement. Obviously, there can be mental trials and experimentation as well as overt physical responses. This fact notwithstanding, observations of children indicate that physical activity does play a prominent role in learning from birth to adolescence. Dynamic learning theory suggests the value for the learner of actual contacts with things and firsthand experimenting such as determining the number of pennies in a dime.

To think, for a child, means to do something with the materials at hand. He must take the cubes or balls or counters in hand to learn about numbers. How shall we make the doll dress? How fasten this suspender strap which has come undone? The thought and action become closely interrelated. Learning about fractions does not mean much when this topic is introduced on paper. Conversely, it can mean much when introduced with measuring cups or containers, and when this introduction is followed up with disks cut into fractional parts. This activity principle explains why play activities are so valuable in promoting problem-solving ability.

---

[19] George Katona, *op. cit.*

A child learns to participate in class or group discussion by actual participation, not merely by being told the why and how, or by observing others engaged in discussion, or by hearing his teacher admonish slow learners.

This principle has been too often neglected in elementary schools, perhaps partly because of lack of materials for large groups and the confusion that sometimes prevails when a group of children actually go to work at something. Our classrooms will improve as we recognize that learning, be it multiplication with mixed numbers or learning to participate in discussion, cannot proceed satisfactorily without the important ingredient of child activity.

THE ROLE OF PERCEPTION IN CHILDREN'S LEARNING. In a dynamic theory of childhood learning perception must be accorded a central role. The child learns because he has sensory equipment with which he interprets the environment: eyes to see, ears to hear, and so on. Perception is the mind's response to and interpretation of all the impressions that are gained through the sense organs. *The child as well as the adult perceives in terms of what the sensations he receives mean to him.* The tap of grandfather's cane is not an empty hollow sound. It announces grandfather. The robin's call in the spring suggests a cheerful bird with red breast, rather than an abstract sound.

Learning increases with refinement in perceptual discrimination. For example, the words *wish* and *with* look something alike, but they must be distinguished if the reader is to interpret the printed page correctly. *Series* and *serious, quit* and *quick* also sound something alike, but the child who is progressing in language usage and reading soon distinguishes these word pairs.

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGE. Language must also be accorded a central role in childhood learning, even though a child's linguistic equipment may be limited in the earlier years. The reason is that language ultimately becomes the child's chief tool for grasping and expressing ideas and for building and storing concepts gained from cumulative experience.

Through words the child systematizes and organizes his learning: the concept of "round," the notion of "character," the ideas associated with such a term as "navigate." Through language the child makes experimental trials mentally which are symbolical in character. That is, they are substitutes for overt activity when thinking is done with words and not solely with actions. Learning that is acquired apart from actual experience takes place chiefly through the medium of language. The importance of language is increasing rapidly in our complex culture as distinct from primitive times when children's environments were simpler and less dependent on verbal symbols for interpretation and understanding.

Transfer of Training and Dynamic Learning. According to a dynamic theory of childhood learning, transfer of training is interpreted not in terms of the old faculty psychology but as the application of meanings and generalizations gained in one situation to a new situation calling for an analogous response. It is the organized pattern or integrated structure of the old learning that can be used successfully in the new. An illustration is found in learning to play the flute after studying the piano. The knowledge of time, of musical notation, phrasing, even of tone quality has some application. The ten-year-old can spell such a word as *counties* because he has grasped the organizing principle that underlies the spelling of *stories, babies,* and *parties.*

The Role of Emotion in Childhood Learning. No mother or teacher who has observed a child's rapt concentration in learning to use, say, his new mechanical construction set, and has noted his oblivion even to hunger and toilet needs during play, would deny the role that emotional tone plays in the dynamics of childhood learning. There is scarcely any behavior in childhood or in adult life, for that matter, without attendant emotion.

Feeling and emotion play a fundamental role in the learning and recall of experiences by way of facilitating or inhibiting these activities. Emotional excitement intensifies drive to vigorous action, which may facilitate the progress of learning under some circumstances. Learning to read, for example, is not solely a mechanical process, the result of systematic practice, but involves feelings, attitudes, and interests as well.

It is common knowledge that children do not learn easily under the burden of emotional maladjustment, or when imposed learning runs counter to their desires. One school beginner who had no difficulty in learning words such as *money, candy, pony,* and *orange* in his reading lesson stalled at *Spot* because this turned out to be the name of a dog he feared. *Street* was hard because his mother had repeatedly warned him to stay out of the narrow, traffic-crowded street in front of his home.

REINFORCEMENT FROM THE EFFECTS OF EXPERIMENTAL TRIALS. The role of *effects* must be retained in any portrayal of learning dynamics in childhood. In the case of children, as with animal subjects or adults, the consequences of the responses made in a learning situation determine whether increase in effectiveness will ensue—the operation of the law of effect. Satisfying effects, in the case of children, are proverbially potent in increasing motivation and strengthening the results and in eliminating the inappropriate (hence non-satisfying) responses. Habits are formed most readily when the pupil sees that the results are achieving his purposes in learning and senses that they lead to some satisfying consequence.

The inefficacy of punishment as a deterrent or as a directive toward improvement is equally notorious in everyday experiences with children. Punishment tends to arouse emotional resentment and in consequence to be distracting or frustrating rather than an effective, reinforcing element in learning.

When children comprehend with understanding something that is closely allied with their purposes and interests there appears to be less need for extrinsic rewards such as praise from parent or teacher than in the case of unmotivated lessons that parents or teachers are bent on teaching the child. The best intrinsic reward for the child is success in the task—the attainment of his goal. If the newly built boat floats without leaking, if the new play barn holds up, therein lies the reward and the stimulus to do an equally good or better job of building next time. But extrinsic rewards *do* have a powerful influence if the child sees the connection between the reward and the task and attaches high value to the reward, for example, in doubling his scores on arithmetic tests through the promise of a dime for each perfect paper. The profit motive in embryo!

Experiences in managing children suggest that deterrents in the form of punishment are sometimes necessary for the child's own good. Also, constructive criticism has considerable effect with older children as a means of directing attention to errors that need correcting. Whether or not such criticism is looked upon as punishment and is consequently relatively ineffective depends largely upon the dynamics of teacher-pupil relationships.

Implications of a Dynamic Concept of Childhood Learning for Practices in the Elementary School

The implications of a dynamic theory of childhood learning compatible with the foregoing principles have already been suggested at a number of points. Exploratory trials which lead to understanding may be considered the prototype of the basic types of learning the elementary-school child experiences in a school where these principles can be applied.

The psychology of dynamic learning has implications for scope and sequence in the curriculum, for instructional techniques with class groups and with individual pupils. The principles that underlie this dynamic theory have application for learning skills, forming habits, acquiring attitudes, mastering subject matter; for the organization of lessons and class assignments; for setting up the classroom environment and the use of instructional resources; for classroom discipline and pupil management; for the role of the teacher in the guidance of learning.

Implications for Classroom Practice. These principles serve to validate the methods of the school which features (1) experiential learning (learning by doing), (2) integrated learnings (unified teaching of skills and content), (3) intrinsic rewards, (4) child participation in the selection of learning activities, (5) the learning of social adjustments through experience, (6) self-evaluation of results, (7) teaching conceived as guidance of human development, (8) provision for individual differences, and (9) diagnostic studies of pupils to discover readiness, learning potentialities, and handicaps. These principles if put to work from the beginning years straight through to the end of the elementary-school period should correct the limitations of traditional procedures pointed out early in the chapter.

The objectives of school training and learning are necessarily more largely teacher-discovered than child-selected. Few of the learnings required in a typical elementary school are closely allied to pupils' basic organic needs, comparable to learning to walk and talk, to avoiding fearful situations, and so on. Children would not be sent to school if daily life at home and on the street prompted them to do all the learning needed for competent living as children and later on as adults. Experience proves that conditions of modern life are insufficient stimuli to inculcate all the fundamental lessons our culture has to teach the young. Hence schools were set up and equipped with teachers to insure the transmission of those aspects of a culture that make for richer, more competent living.

However, the fact that teachers and parents have in mind goals and objectives which would not occur to most children left to their own choices *does not mean that lesson learning at school must be teacher-imposed in an authoritarian sense or that children must be forced to learn mechanically until the learning finally makes sense and they recognize the purpose underlying the enforced practice.*

On the contrary, by taking the principles of dynamic learning into account teachers can avoid fruitless learning that discourages children or creates conflict between teacher purposing and pupil goals. There will still be room for pupil choices, for recognition and conservation of child interests, for pupil activity, for self-discovery of principles, for the development of creative thinking. The necessity will still exist for discovering and utilizing to the fullest extent the learning potentialities of every child, with due regard to his handicaps as well as his talents. The application of dynamic principles helps to insure the ability to think, to make application from previously learned ideas and principles to problem solving in new situations.

THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER. Whether the school child learns primarily with understanding or in mechanical, rote fashion depends upon the teacher's skill in putting dynamic principles into practice. Teachers may be well versed in subject matter and imbued with the keenest desire to have their pupils learn something as the result of school instruction; they may even be kindly disposed toward their pupils; but results will be negligible in carry-over to life situations *unless instruction is in harmony with these principles.*

Knowledge of these basic principles, alone, will not suffice to insure productive learning. In addition, the teacher must be cognizant of each pupil's state of readiness for learning the lessons the school considers it desirable to teach. Teaching then becomes intelligent guidance of child learners rather than drill imposed on children against their will.

There is a tale by Chekhov of the man who tried to teach a kitten to catch mice. When it would not chase the mice, he scolded and punished it. Finally when the kitten was a fully grown cat it cowered in terror at the very presence of a mouse. Contrast that with the way the mother cat teaches the kitten. She waits until the kitten is old enough to understand. She plays with the mouse around the kitten so that he is intrigued with interest. She demonstrates just how to do the job. As a result the cat is eager to join in the game. While not all school learning invariably can be made as palatable as mouse catching is to the kitten we certainly can keep children from cowering at the mention of arithmetic! Concentration, effort, practice, and discipline will still be needed, but the teacher's skill in arousing and holding the interest of pupils in school activities can make the difference between productive learning and discouraging failure.

If the dynamic principles that govern wholesome learning during the elementary-school years effectively were interpreted to laymen, especially those who attack methods of instruction in modern schools, much of the damaging criticism might be averted and helpful support be obtained in the interests of school improvement.

Summary

Child behavior is modified in many ways by the processes known as learning. Since learning plays such an important role in growth and adjustment during the childhood years, learning processes are of major concern to all who are responsible for teaching children. Misconceptions of how children learn under school auspices have resulted in wasteful if not damaging educational practices.

Through the years learning theory has been of great interest to educational philosophers and psychologists. John Dewey's educational philosophy, which reflects his views of childhood learning, has had marked influence on American education during the past half-century. Within recent years increased interest in learning theory has resulted in rapid acceleration in laboratory studies of learning processes. Contrasting theories have been proposed to account for learning processes. Analysis of the rival theories suggests that each has something to contribute to a better understanding of childhood learning but that no one theory alone is sufficient to account for all the ways in which children may learn.

A central dynamic theory of childhood learning would incorporate elements of all the major learning theories. Typical learning in childhood may be viewed as a dynamic process directed toward satisfying some needs of the learner or toward the attainment of some goals resulting in experimental trials until the desired stage of accomplishment is reached. This theory includes the concept of active pupil participation, grasp of meanings through functional perception, and use of language, feelings, and emotional reactions as influencing the choice of goals as well as the final attainment of success. There are various implications for the educative process including the role of the teacher in establishing favorable conditions for learning and in guiding the children's learning efforts.

References

Bode, Boyd H., *Conflicting Psychologies of Learning*. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1929.

———, *How We Learn*. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1940.

Brownell, William A., Kuehner, Kenneth G., and Rein, William C., *Learning as Reorganization*. Research Studies in Education, No. 3. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1939.

Caswell, Hollis L., "Influence of John Dewey on the Curriculum of American Schools," *Teachers College Record*, 51:144-146, December, 1949.

Dashiell, John F., "A Survey and Synthesis of Learning Theories," *Psychological Bulletin*, 32:261-275, 1935.

Dewey, John, *How We Think*. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1933.

———, *Interest and Effort in Educuation*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913.

Hartman, George W., *Educational Psychology*. New York: American Book Company, 1941.

Heidbreder, Edna, *Seven Psychologies*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1933.

Henry, N. B. (ed.), *Learning and Instruction*, Forty-Ninth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.

———, *The Psychology of Learning*, Forty-First Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.

Hildreth, Gertrude, *Child Growth Through Education*. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948, Chapter 3.

Hilgard, E. R., *Theories of Learning*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948.

Hilgard, E. R., and Marquis, D. G., *Conditioning and Learning*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1940.

Hull, C. L., *Principles of Behavior*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1943.

KATONA, GEORGE, *Organizing and Memorizing*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940.

KOFFKA, KURT, *Principles of Gestalt Psychology*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1935.

KÖHLER, WOLFGANG, *Gestalt Psychology*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1929.

MCCONNELL, T. R., *Discovery vs. Authoritative Identification in the Learning of Children*. University of Iowa Studies in the Psychology of Learning II, Vol. 9, No. 5, pp. 11-62.

MCGEOCH, JOHN A., *The Psychology of Human Learning*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1942.

MELTON, ARTHUR W., "Learning," in *Encyclopaedia of Educational Research*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950, pp. 668-690.

PETERSON, JOSEPH, "Learning in Children," *Handbook of Child Psychology*. Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 1933, Chapter 10.

STROUD, JAMES B., "Experiments on Learning in School Situations," *Psychological Bulletin*, 37:777-807, 1940.

SWENSON, ESTHER T., ANDERSON, G. LESTER, AND STACEY, CHALMERS L., *Learning Theory in School Situations*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949.

THORNDIKE, E. L., *The Fundamentals of Learning*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932.

———, "The Psychology of Learning," *Educational Psychology*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1913, Vol. II.

———, *Selected Writings from a Connectionist's Psychology*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949.

TILTON, J. WARREN, *An Educational Psychology of Learning*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951.

WATSON, JOHN B., *Psychology from the Standpoint of a Behaviorist*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1919, 3rd ed., 1929.

WHEELER, R. H., *The Science of Psychology*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1929, revised, 1940.

CHAPTER IV

Emerging Concepts of Child Growth and Development: What They Suggest for Classroom Practice[1]

INTRODUCTION

THE CHILD DEVELOPMENT APPROACH. The current concept of child growth and development is the result of research in many areas over a relatively short period of time. During the past approximately fifty years the work of pediatricians, educators, psychologists, sociologists, cultural anthropologists, and home economists has caused us to change markedly our concepts concerning the growth and development of children.

Unfortunately, research within a given field of science usually is pursued without much reference to related sciences. As a result, child development as an area of study has not always benefited immediately from the dissemination of research data from one field of scientists to another. In addition, though the implications of many research studies may cross boundary lines from one field of science to another, seldom have research workers from varied fields engaged in cooperative research. In spite of this marked lack of coordination in the efforts of various scientists interested in the child, the findings of different groups constitute a vast body of data, have brought about changes in research methodology, and have changed our concepts concerning the child.

On the whole, however, one must recognize not only a lack of integration of child development data and of the research methods utilized, both within and among the fields, but also the meagerness of research directed to facilitate the *application* of previous data and concepts. An illustration is found in the confusion of terminology utilized. For example, words have many meanings to workers *within* a field as well as *among* different fields. One might say that the semantic problem is both sizable and confusing. "Growth," "development," and "maturation" frequently are used interchangeably while at the same time they are given distinct connotations to imply mutual exclusiveness.

---

[1] This chapter was written by Viola Theman, Northwestern University. The assistance of Elmer O. Smith, Jr., is acknowledged with the author's appreciation.

As a result of the involvement of many disciplines, the uncoordinated and fluid status of various research approaches, the semantic difficulties in terminology, and the relative newness of some of the disciplines involved, the resultant body of data understandably lacks cohesion, and there are few clearly structured or generally accepted concepts. This background, therefore, justifies some hesitancy in attempts positively to formulate general statements with regard to "accepted concepts" of child development. Unless such formulations emerge, however, it is virtually impossible to attempt to translate theoretical findings into practical applications for use in the classroom or the home.

Innovations, in terms of attempts to organize and integrate data and to state them in terms of a cohesive group of concepts, have been made by relatively few people, notably John E. Anderson, Arthur D. Hollingshead, and Daniel A. Prescott. Yet among the statements of those who have made organizations of such concepts we find certain similarities in the points they make. A sampling of quotations selected from statements made by these three writers suggests itself as a means of assaying certain similarities of viewpoints insofar as simple and abbreviated statements reveal them. This is done with full recognition of the danger of misinterpretation when writings are cited out of context. Areas of agreement, for example, may be obscured while areas of dissimilarity may appear to be in agreement.

Anderson, in 1944, said:

> The following brief summary outlines the essentials of the modern point of view from the standpoint of method:
>
> (1) The child is a growing organism who moves by infinitesimal changes from a single cell to the complex organization of structure and function at an adult level.

(2) The child is a spatially separated unit that functions as an organized whole in the situations he meets.

(3) The child lives in a context which is itself neither simple nor unitary and which continuously affects his behavior and development.

(4) The child is engaged in an on-going process of development that is not reversible.[2]

A. D. Hollingshead is the source of the next statement of the concepts of growth which he feels are important and upon which there may be said to be some agreement. His statements are paraphrased for purposes of brevity:

1. Growth is activated by inherent needs of the organism. . . .
2. Growth is a process of assimilation. . . .
3. Growth is an active process. . . .
4. Growth is a process of maturation. . . .
5. Growth is a selective process. . . .
6. Growth is a continuous process. . . .
7. Growth is an individual process. . . .
8. Growth seeks to maintain a state of unity within the organism and between the organism and its environment. . . .
9. Social growth requires direction. . . . To be satisfying it must give the individual:

a. a feeling of security and acceptance in group membership . . .
b. freedom from conflicts . . . in group relationships . . .
c. in reference to himself the experience must further his plan for his life and be in accord with his standards.[3]

Prescott[4] made the following synthesis of concepts (abbreviated for use here):

---

[2] John E. Anderson, "Methods of Child Psychology," in Leonard Carmichael (ed.), *Manual of Child Psychology* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1946), pp. 3-4.

[3] Arthur D. Hollingshead, *Guidance in Democratic Living* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1941), pp. 60-69.

[4] Daniel Prescott, "A Statement of Ideas About the Child" for the consideration of the Educational Policies Commission (mimeographed form), somewhat similar to the development in the book *Helping Teachers Understand Children* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1945).

(Note: In the two right-hand columns A and H refer respectively to Anderson and Hollingshead and the numbers to their comparative statements.)

	A.	H.
The learning and behavior of a child, and his development through time are caused	.....	.....
The causes of behavior, learning, and development are multiple, complex, and interrelated	2, 3	.....
The minimum range of factors and processes that must be considered in making educational decisions and practice in relation to a child		
a. Physical factors and processes	1	1, 4
b. Climate of affection	.....	9
c. Peer-culture and group status and processes	.....	9
d. Social background and dynamics	2, 3	9
e. Self-developmental potentialities and processes ..	.....	1
f. Self-defensive and adjustive processes	2	.....
A child is an indivisible unity	2	8
The normal processes of growth and development give rise naturally to a series of developmental tasks for each child, which are related in their onset and character to the child's physical maturity level rather than to his chronological age	.....	4
Most children face a number of adjustment problems that complicate the accomplishment of their own developmental tasks and traditional school learnings	.....	.....
Each child is unique. Each of the above factors and processes, distinguished in the six areas above as influencing behavior, learning, and development, is qualitatively and quantitatively variable from child to child	2	7

In the above three formulations of concepts what first appears to be wide variety in verbal expression somewhat covers a more genuine agreement in thinking. In basic ideas there is a particularly marked agreement between Hollingshead and Prescott. In the chart organized about the statements of Prescott, the numbers in the right-hand columns indicate what seems to the writer to be essential agreement of Anderson and Hollingshead with the more inclusive synthesis of Prescott. For example, the importance of physical factors and processes is stressed by all three men. As a result, on the chart, the sections of Anderson's and Hollingshead's lists that correspond with Prescott's listing of these factors are numerically indicated (for physical, for example, A. 1 and H. 1, 4). This composite chart reveals unanimity in only three areas, and it is therefore necessary to make cross-comparisons between any two of these lists in order to arrive at a comprehensive idea of the areas for which there may be partial rather than unanimous agreement. For instance, Prescott and Anderson agree on certain aspects without the explicit concurrence of Hollingshead. On the other hand, Anderson and Hollingshead, or Prescott and Hollingshead, may concur without the agreement (i.e., mention of the concept) of the third member. In addition, each writer has specific areas included that do not appear on the lists of the others.

From this general background, emerging concepts in child growth and development evolve. In the next part of this chapter an appraisal of these concepts will be made in relationship (1) to the development of the child as a unique individual, (2) to the uniqueness of the individual as modified by contacts with special groups, and (3) to the interactions between the individual and the group. Then, from the interrelations among these three will be derived the implications of the concepts of child development for elementary-school classroom organization, methods, materials, and atmosphere.

EMERGING CONCEPTS IN CHILD GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHILD AS A UNIQUE INDIVIDUAL. Uniqueness of the individual is increasingly evident from recent research in child development. (It is consistent also with our democratic philosophy.) Earlier research methods sought group averages or norms of onset and of attainment of skills and abilities. Later, attention was directed toward stages of growth and development. Most frequently these norms and stages were associated with chronological age, i.e., age of beginning to walk, to talk, and to read. Subsequent methods of research sought the relationship of two aspects of growth, for example, between the age of learning to read and mental age. Such studies and methods helped to direct research toward the current stage of our thinking, in which we recognize the results and methods used earlier but are better able to synthesize, in interpretation and in planning new research, for less fragmentary information and for the possibilities of interrelatedness of factors as well as for uniqueness of any trait to emerge.

Three blocks of forces affect the behavior of a child and cause him to be unique: (1) his differential-potential capacity, (2) his concept of self, his goals, and his motivations, and (3) his environmental opportunities.

1. *The child's potential capacity* varies in amount and in kind or quality. More traditionally it may be thought to include the biological inheritance of physical, emotional, and mental potentialities. For example, the genes may predispose an individual to a quantitative as well as qualitative potential or upper limit for mental ability, for physical abilities, and for others.

2. *The child's concept of self,* the powerful determinant of personality, is the factor that differentiates human beings from plant and other lower forms of life. The plant, like the child, has biological limitations and potentials and grows in an environment that is relatively restrictive or supportive. The child, however, in addition to these two forces develops a third—his concept of self which affects his *motivation* and by which he sets *goals* that affect in turn the usage of his original potential operating in his particular environment.

3. *The child's environmental opportunities* may facilitate or tend to oppose his potentialities and his goals and concept of self. Such environmental factors include those that are mainly personal and extend to those that are almost universal. The environment of a particular child varies of course with his family membership, but it is known also to vary from child to child within a given family. Each individual is born into a *prepared* environment of caste and class, values, food, clothing. He has no choice in regard to these in the beginning, and the lack continues with only *slight* modifications even to determining the school he will attend, the grade he will attend, and the teacher he will have.

The parents' own abilities and opportunities as well as their feelings about themselves and toward their child as an individual and as a member of their family group and toward his siblings, their feelings of love and acceptance or relative rejection—these all affect the child, as is so well brought out in Walt Whitman's poem "A Child Went Forth."

All these environmental facts must be considered in the constellation of factors affecting the child.

Documentation for the concept of the interrelatedness and reciprocal relations among these three factors, i.e., differential-potential capacity, concept of self and of goals, and environmental opportunities, has been reported in such compendiums as those by Carmichael,[5] by Murchison,[6] by Garrison,[7] and by Kuhlen.[8]

Individual studies elaborating and substantiating this concept are numerous. For consideration here, they appear to be divided into three subgroupings, those that stress the interrelationships (1) between the physical and the emotional, (2) between the physical and the environmental, and (3) between the environmental and the emotional.

The interrelationships between the physical and the emotional factors have been demonstrated in the area of psychosomatics: i.e., the interrelations between the psychological forces and the physiological condition and functioning of the human being. We know, for example, that tension and stress can cause ulcers; and conversely, ulcers not caused by emotional tension can cause worry and stress because of inconvenience of diet and pain. Worries, hates, conflicts, and so on can so change the chemistry of the body that the individual actually becomes ill. And illness, in turn, may be an escape from the very problems which originally caused the worry. In this area, the research of Alexander and French[9] and of Dunbar[10] on emotions and bodily functions, as well as numerous articles in the *Journal of Psychosomatic Medicine*, gives us further evidence.

The interrelationships between the physical and environmental factors have been indicated in recent studies revealing the young child's ability (generalized) to appraise and satisfy his bodily needs —an ability which appears to be somewhat lost or obscured at later ages. We remember in this connection the Davis[11] studies of self-selection of appropriate and well-balanced diets by very young children and the vast data collected by Aldrich[12] concerning the self-demand schedules of food, elimination, and sleep of infants. In another area the child's potential is great. In language the normal young child has the potential (1) to make all the sounds involved in the oral expression of any and all languages ever spoken by man and (2) to create new words and expressions. However, unless the environment values and provides such opportunities, (1) he develops the sounds required by only one language and later finds it almost impossible to produce accurately all the sounds required to speak other languages,[13] or (2) he may become a noncreative, almost nonproductive individual in usage of even his native language, particularly in written form. Other aspects of this interdependence emerge in such factors as environmental influences on mental functioning, on nutritional status, and on similar facets.

---

[5] Leonard Carmichael (ed.), *op. cit.*

[6] Carl Murchison (ed.), *Handbook of Child Psychology* (Worcester, Mass.: Clark University Press, 2nd ed., 1933).

[7] K. C. Garrison, *Psychology of Adolescence* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., rev. ed., 1940).

[8] Raymond G. Kuhlen, *The Psychology of Adolescent Development* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952).

[9] F. Alexander and T. M. French, *Studies in Psychosomatic Medicine* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948).

[10] H. F. Dunbar, *Emotions and Bodily Changes* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2nd ed., 1938).

[11] C. M. Davis, "Self-Selection of Diets by Newly Weaned Infants," *American Journal of Diseases of Children*, 36:651-679, October, 1928.

The interrelationships between the environmental and the emotional factors emerge in studies which are related to the concept of role and of self. The Clarks,[14] for example, trace the development of the concept of self and the emergence of racial identification. Horowitz[15] follows much the same line, but with a further extension into the implications of self concept and identification for the status and role of the individual. Further development of the individual's external role in relationship to environmental opportunities is carried out by Solby,[16] who points out the necessity for allowing the individual to realize some of his roles through environmental participation. Anderson and Brandt[17] add a further progression by considering the goals and motivation of children in terms of their levels of aspiration. From a somewhat different approach, Lewin[18] relates the level of aspiration to the emotional tension system within the individual, while Zeigarnik[19] demonstrates the relation of forgetting to tension systems in terms of Lewin's theory. This work is further augmented by Patrick's[20] study of the effect of emotional excitement due to adverse environmental conditions on rational behavior in human beings.

---

[12] Charles Anderson Aldrich and R. M. Hewitt, "A Self Regulating Feeding Program for Infants," *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 135:340, October, 1947. Also in Charles Anderson Aldrich and Mary M. Aldrich, *Babies Are Human Beings* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938).

[13] E. Dewey, *Infant Behavior* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), p. 252; Dorothea McCarthy, "Language Development in Children," Chapter 10 in Leonard Carmichael (ed.), *op. cit.*

[14] K. B. Clark and M. K. Clark, "The Development of Consciousness of Self and the Emergence of Racial Identification in Negro Pre-School Children," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 10:591-599, 1939.

[15] R. E. Horowitz, "Racial Aspects of Self-identification in Nursery School Children," *Journal of Psychology*, 7:91-99, 1939.

[16] B. Solby, "A Theory of Mental Hygiene in Industry," *Mental Hygiene*, 29:353-371, July, 1945.

[17] H. H. Anderson and H. F. Brandt, "A Study of Motivation Involving Self-announced Goals of Fifth Grade Children and the Concept of Level of Aspiration," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 10:209-232, 1939.

The studies concerned with the level of aspiration and of degree of ego involvement yield valuable insights. We all know a child who says "I can't" and never tries and other children stymied by a tendency to return to tasks where failure for them has been great and potential success exceedingly limited. Patrick's study in which young men were given a problem similar to the problems of rats in mazes but were also put under great emotional and physical stress (cold water, electric shock, and blowing of horns) is revealing, too. The breakdown and disorganization of these adults' behavior from a potential for problem solving to a level of behavior akin to trial and error engaged in by rats is dramatic.

Aside from the interrelations that exist between various aspects of the individual there are, of course, also interrelations and interactions among sub-variables within any given area. For instance, Cannon[21] has pointed out the balanced interactions through which the body maintains a relatively constant physiochemical state or *homeostasis*, while Driesch[22] and Lashley[23] have, individually, formulated and elaborated the concept of equipotentiality. This concept applies to the organism as a system of parts in interaction—more specifically, interchangeable interaction. This is based directly on Lashley's findings that, when by extirpation some nerve cells in the brain are removed, the remaining cells carry out the functions previously subserved by all.

---

[18] Kurt Lewin, T. Dembo, L. Festinger, and P. S. Sears, "Level of Aspiration," in J. McVickers Hunt (ed.), *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1944), pp. 333-378.

[19] B. Zeigarnik, "Das Behalten Erledigter und Unerledigter Handlungen," *Psycholog. Forshung*, 9:1-85, 1927. (Translated and condensed as "On Finished and Unfinished Tasks" by Albert Ellis, 1938, pp. 300-314.)

[20] J. R. Patrick, "Studies in Rational Behavior and Emotional Excitement: II. The Effect of Emotional Excitement on Rational Behavior in Human Subjects," *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, 18:153-195, 1934.

[21] W. B. Cannon, "Stresses and Strains of Homeostasis," *American Journal of Medical Science*, 189:1-14, 1935; and W. B. Cannon, *The Wisdom of the Body* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1932).

[22] H. Driesch, "Neue Versuche uber die Entwichlung Verschmolzener Echenedenkeime," *Arch. F. Entw.-mech. d. Org.*, 30:8-23, 1910.

[23] K. S. Lashley, *Brain Mechanisms and the Intelligence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929); and K. S. Lashley, "Studies of Cerebral Function in Learning: V. The Retention of Motor Habits After Destruction of the So-called Motor Areas in Primates," *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry*, 12:249-276, 1924.

In view of these complex and interrelated features of the individual, we are coming to believe that the uniqueness of the individual does not consist alone in a set of separate attributes but also in: (1) the constellation of them (the Gestalt), (2) the interrelationships between them which mutually affect and modify one another, and (3) the general pattern of development through a period of time.

No simplification of these three factors or of their interrelationships is adequate if the teacher or parent would truly understand children or a particular child's behavior. On the contrary, in addition to these complexities we must also consider the further complications that arise from the interactions between the individual and the group.

UNIQUENESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL AS MODIFIED BY SPECIAL GROUPS. In a basic sense the foundations of society rest upon relations among people: individual to individual, individual to group, and group to group. This is the case with society as a whole at almost all levels from the international plane down to the specific living within a family circle. Although all of these levels are interrelated in that they exert some mutually reciprocal influences, the present relatively circumscribed interest in children in this chapter leads to some limitation of the levels considered.

Concern is focused on the influences exerted on the child by those factors closest to him and therefore having the greatest immediate effect upon him, i.e., the immediate cultural environment of the individual and the differences in that individual that may be modified by special factors in his immediate life. One of the great merits of modern cultural anthropology is the fact that it has demonstrated the relativity of cultures through the work of such persons as Franz Boas, Ralph Linton, Bronislaw Malinowski, Ruth Benedict, and Margaret Mead. The study of the individual thus becomes linked to the culture in which he operates in two different respects. First, the relation of the person to the culture presents a problem of adjustment. Second, cultural patterns are assimilated by the individual and integrated into the total personality.

The initial social unit, the family, is of primary importance among the factors influencing the child. It leaves its impress upon the child in terms of values and behavior, different concepts of success and achievement, and variable parental expectancies and estimates of self-competence. The individual identifies himself with, and regards as part of himself, the particular constellation of values he learns from his exclusive environment. Because the first part of his life is spent in close conjunction with the family, he tends to assimilate the feelings, attitudes, values, and purposes of his immediate situation. On the basis of these he begins to define his own role and status and begins the process of socialization.[24]

The socialization which occurs when an individual becomes a member of a group consists mainly in the achievement of conformity in experience and behavior to social values, standards, or norms already established.[25] Thus, the influence of parental attitudes, values, and goals is important in establishing the patterns and attitudes affecting the individual's personal-social relations.[26] This fact is reflected in the high degree of identity of attitudes existing between parents and children.[27] Further, the family also appears to be an important agent in transmitting to the child not only the family's own culture but class culture as well. The child tends to learn the cultural patterns of the subgroup to which he belongs in terms of the socioeconomic status of the family as well as the class or caste status of the family. The family may thus determine the language, customs, manners, and morals of the child while at the same time influencing interests, activities, and choice of friends. As a result, social behavior is, to a large extent, the product of the family and the place the family occupies in the social structure of the community.[28]

The aspects of familial and cultural or class status, in turn, are

[24] H. H. Hyman, "The Psychology of Status," *Archives of Psychology,* No. 269, 1942.

[25] M. Sherif and H. Cantril, *The Psychology of Ego-involvements* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1947).

[26] B. B. Boder and E. V. Beach, "Wants of Adolescents: I. A Preliminary Study," *Journal of Psychology,* 3:505-511, 1937.

[27] H. H. Remmers and N. Weltman, "Attitude Inter-relationship of Youth, Their Parents, and Teachers," *Journal of Social Psychology,* 26:61-67, 1947.

[28] A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth, The Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949).

interrelated appreciably with still other factors influencing the individual, particularly those involving ecological or environmental attributes and those involving peer relations. This determining relationship is perhaps most structured in the case of ecological factors because the socioeconomic status of the family tends to a large degree to set the physical surroundings. At the same time, however, in the influence it exercises over activities and choice of friends, it exerts some selective effect on peer relations. The child tends to form social contacts predicated upon class status, neighborhood proximity, membership in school groups, etc., which tend to limit or determine what peer group he will or may join.[29]

In evaluating the ecological factors in human development, a rather consistent trend has become apparent relating ecological conditions to increased infant mortality, delinquent and criminal behavior, vice, suicide, and mental disorders.[30] There is marked evidence of differentials which affect every aspect of the child's life. Four times as many infants die in low-rent areas of Chicago during their first year of life as compared with those in high-rent areas. The distribution of mentally deficient children studied at the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago during a nine-year period indicated that mental deficiency is largely related to the problem of deteriorated urban areas. Studies from various cities and towns in different sections of the country yield similar or comparable results that imply a widely generalized pattern of the effects of ecological factors upon child development and behavior.

In considering peer relations the situation is somewhat more complicated because of the shifting interrelationships involved, especially in respect to family influences. Initially, the home is a predominant factor influencing the child and delimiting his sphere of activity, even determining to a certain extent peer-group membership. Once peer-group activity is initiated, however, a shifting balance may begin to appear. Probably because of the adult influence in the home, children are initially adult-oriented, and relations with adult figures are primary. As the child joins in a group with other children, the relations with other children begin to take precedence over adult relationships. This assumption of precedence seems to be a progressive phenomenon which gradually begins to balance the family's original strong influence until finally it becomes ascendant and outweighs the home influence, usually in the period of adolescence, when peer relations seem to be a significant factor in the effects they exert upon the individual. There is almost unanimous agreement among investigators about the potency of the peer group at this stage of development. Blos states that:

---

[29] B. L. Neugarten, "Social Class and Friendship Among Children," *American Journal of Sociology*, 51:305-313, 1946.

[30] C. R. Shaw and H. D. McKay, *Report on the Causes of Crime* (Washington, D.C.: National Committee of Law Observance and Enforcement, 1931); E. H. Sutherland, "Social Process in Behavior Problems," *American Sociological Society*, 26:55-61, 1932; R. E. L. Faris and W. Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939); and R. A. Koshuk, "Social Influences Affecting the Behavior of Young Children," *Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development*, Vol. VI, No. 2, Serial No. 28, 1941.

> The intermediary phase of social development which takes place at adolescence can be properly evaluated only with reference to its intrinsic functions and meanings. One of its most unique functions is to establish a group life with its own standards, values, appreciations. This group life, often referred to as peer culture, has a decisive impact upon the adolescent's development and is indeed far more influential at times than adult opinion or judgment.[31]

Repeatedly adolescents seem to find or seek relief from inconsistent, confusing situations in their immediate environment by gaining support in peer groups. Here their behavior is regulated in an important way by the values or norms among the peers to whom they refer themselves. Many of their values may run counter to those of parents or other adults.[32]

From material available in terms of fads, fashions, group mores, and group values it would appear that there is change and inconsistency not only between various peer groups at different levels in different areas but also within any given group where fairly marked changes may occur within relatively short periods of time.

---

[31] Peter Blos, *The Adolescent Personality: A Study of Individual Behavior* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1941), p. 251.

[32] R. S. Lynd and H. M. Lynd, *Middletown in Transition* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1937); C. M. Tryon, "Evaluations of Adolescent Personality by Adolescents," *Monograph of the Society for Research in Child Development*, Vol. IV, 1939, pp. 77-78; C. M. Tryon, "The Adolescent Peer Culture," *Forty-third Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part I, 1944, p. 209; F. L. Goodenough, *Developmental Psychology* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1945); and C. B. Zachry, *Emotion and Conduct in Adolescence* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1940).

From this complex background of influences and interactions, any individual is likely to be subjected to an essentially unique constellation. As a result, each child differs from every other child in feelings, attitudes, values, and purposes because of his particular background in terms of family, neighborhood, community, and peer associates. Though this is mitigated to some extent by broad cultural factors that tend to promote some degree of similarity and consonance in terms of such factors as language, dress, national identification, and so on, the consensus would appear to be that the differences in individual background appreciably outweigh the common denominators.

Interaction Between the Individual and the Group. In studying the individual in society, we must consider the groups to which he belongs, because they provide the background for his perceptions, feelings, and actions. The group determines the current of an individual's life since social values and goals are found in or in relation to social groups. Yet this is by no means a static condition. The affairs of men are shifting and changing in response to forces which impinge upon them. In this dynamic progression, the individual has a decisive internal relationship with the total process because of the interdependence of the individual and the group.

> Wherever two or more people are functioning as a social group that group not only consists of those individuals, but, more importantly perhaps, if that is possible, than the individuals themselves and without which their functioning as a social group could not be expressed, are the relations which maintain between them. It is these intangible, imponderable and invisible aspects of the situation which enable the mathematical sum of a certain number of individuals to function as a social group.[33]

As such, the group is more than just a collection of individuals.

One can, perhaps, think of the group as a constellation of mutually interrelated and interacting dynamic forces in which the group affects the individuals, the individual affects other individuals, and each individual affects the group. For instance, consideration has been given the effect of the family on the child. But at the same time the effect of the child on the family must be recognized. When the first child is born into the family an appreciable change is ini-

[33] William A. White in Foreword to J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* (Washington, D.C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, Rev. ed., 1953), p. xi.

tiated in the entire structure and function of the family and in its interpersonal relationship. Social, economic, and affective patterns may be modified, not only within the confines of the immediate household but also in the external environment in which its members operate. Subsequent children will again modify and repattern the familial constellation.

The importance of the interaction between the individual and the group and of the dynamic interrelationships obtaining within the group, and their implications for society, has led to a substantial and growing body of research and data in this area. A good deal of this stems either directly or indirectly from the work of Moreno and of Lewin. Moreno approached the area through "sociometry" or "methods which inquire into the evolution and organization of groups and the position of individuals within them,"[34] while Lewin was more specifically oriented toward the dynamic psychological factors operating within the group. In this context, he stated:

> Education is in itself a social process involving sometimes small groups like the mother and child, sometimes larger groups like a school class or the community of a summer camp. Education tends to develop certain types of behavior, certain kinds of attitudes in the children or other persons with whom it deals. The kind of behavior and the attitude it tries to develop, and the means it uses, are not merely determined by abstract philosophy or scientifically developed methods, but are essentially a result of the *sociological* properties of the group in which this education occurs. In considering the effect of the social group on the educational system, one generally thinks of the ideals, principles, and attitudes which are common within this group. Indeed, ideals and principles play an important part in education. But one will have to distinguish the ideals and principles which are *officially* recognized from those rules which in reality dominate the events in this social group. Education depends on the real state and character of the social group in which it occurs.[35]

It would thus appear that factors affecting "the state and character" of the group are important in the educational situation. Some necessity exists then, for considering group composition, group structure, and the total atmosphere in which the class or subgroup functions. There indeed has been some interest in at least one phase of group character—that of group composition. This interest has individual is likely to be subjected to an essentially unique constellation. As a result, each child differs from every other child in feelings, attitudes, values, and purposes because of his particular background in terms of family, neighborhood, community, and peer associates. Though this is mitigated to some extent by broad cultural factors that tend to promote some degree of similarity and consonance in terms of such factors as language, dress, national identification, and so on, the consensus would appear to be that the differences in individual background appreciably outweigh the common denominators.

---

[34] J. L. Moreno, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[35] K. Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), p. 3.

INTERACTION BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE GROUP. In studying the individual in society, we must consider the groups to which he belongs, because they provide the background for his perceptions, feelings, and actions. The group determines the current of an individual's life since social values and goals are found in or in relation to social groups. Yet this is by no means a static condition. The affairs of men are shifting and changing in response to forces which impinge upon them. In this dynamic progression, the individual has a decisive internal relationship with the total process because of the interdependence of the individual and the group.

> Wherever two or more people are functioning as a social group that group not only consists of those individuals, but, more importantly perhaps, if that is possible, than the individuals themselves are the relations which maintain between them and without which their functioning as a social group could not be expressed. It is these intangible, imponderable and invisible aspects of the situation which enable the mathematical sum of a certain number of individuals to function as a social group.[33]

As such, the group is more than just a collection of individuals.

One can, perhaps, think of the group as a constellation of mutually interrelated and interacting dynamic forces in which the group affects the individuals, the individual affects other individuals, and each individual affects the group. For instance, consideration has been given the effect of the family on the child. But at the same time the effect of the child on the family must be recognized. When the first child is born into the family an appreciable change is inimay be modified, not only within the confines of the immediate household but also in the external environment in which its members operate. Subsequent children will again modify and repattern the familial constellation.

---

[33] William A. White in Foreword to J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall Survive?* (Washington, D.C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, Rev. ed., 1953), p. xi.

The importance of the interaction between the individual and the group and of the dynamic interrelationships obtaining within the group, and their implications for society, has led to a substantial and growing body of research and data in this area. A good deal of this stems either directly or indirectly from the work of Moreno and of Lewin. Moreno approached the area through "sociometry" or "methods which inquire into the evolution and organization of groups and the position of individuals within them,"[34] while Lewin was more specifically oriented toward the dynamic psychological factors operating within the group. In this context, he stated:

> Education is in itself a social process involving sometimes small groups like the mother and child, sometimes larger groups like a school class or the community of a summer camp. Education tends to develop certain types of behavior, certain kinds of attitudes in the children or other persons with whom it deals. The kind of behavior and the attitude it tries to develop, and the means it uses, are not merely determined by abstract philosophy or scientifically developed methods, but are essentially a result of the *sociological* properties of the group in which this education occurs. In considering the effect of the social group on the educational system, one generally thinks of the ideals, principles, and attitudes which are common within this group. Indeed, ideals and principles play an important part in education. But one will have to distinguish the ideals and principles which are *officially* recognized from those rules which in reality dominate the events in this social group. Education depends on the real state and character of the social group in which it occurs.[35]

It would thus appear that factors affecting "the state and character" of the group are important in the educational situation. Some necessity exists then, for considering group composition, group structure, and the total atmosphere in which the class or subgroup functions. There indeed has been some interest in at least one phase of group character—that of group composition. This interest has emerged in the question of "homogeneous" versus "heterogeneous" classes. Various administrative schemes for grouping pupils with similar characteristics have been devised, but apparently little or limited consensual agreement has been reached in regard to the advisability, efficiency, or efficacy of such procedures. The groupings have been made on the basis of intelligence, chronological age, pedagogical age, anatomical age, social age, health, and school marks.[36] In general, however, the results have been mixed, with both satisfactory and unsatisfactory, desirable and undesirable aspects, depending on specific points of view or individual bias.

---

[34] J. L. Moreno, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[35] K. Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948), p. 3.

An important element in the rather unsatisfactory outcomes of such attempts at achieving homogeneity has been felt to be the factor of human growth. Children differ in their rates of growth both physiologically and mentally. Thus, even in a selected group differences may soon appear that were not noticeable earlier. Aside from this fact, however, groups equated on one factor may show wide variations in other aspects. For instance, selection on the basis of intelligence may result in wide differences in social, chronological, or anatomical age. Faced with this continued problem of variability, teachers and administrators took the next logical step. They recognized the complexities involved and so attempted to cope with them. They began to consider a shifting or "flexible" pattern of grouping in which the individuals were grouped in different ways, at different times, for different purposes. This approach was a logical one, but the fallacy continued in the bases for grouping. Again, attention remained fixed on intelligence, on social age, or on rate of learning, etc. The same factors that previously had been tried singly were now used variably or in changing context. The rationale apparently was this: to cope with the complexity of the problem through shifting combinations of solutions. Thus, at various times, slow learners were grouped with fast learners; fast learners were matched with fast learners; intelligent with not-so-intelligent; mature with mature, or immature; and so on. The possible combinations, of course, are manifold, as are the necessary determinations of speed of learning, degree of maturity, intelligence, etc. Yet all of this did not remedy the fact that in any such grouping or groupings a great many important factors were left virtually untouched and unconsidered. The values, attitudes, feelings, and goals of the individuals involved did not enter into the situation singly and entered even less into any consideration for the multiple interrelations and interreactions that occur in the group situation. Almost all of the dynamic forces that operate on and are important to the individuals and the group they constitute were neglected or unrecognized. At times they were cut across, disrupted, and hampered by somewhat artificial and arbitrary bases for grouping. Group goals were set up regardless of wide variations in individual goals, values were prescribed, and motivation was "standardized" by grades. Despite widely different backgrounds of social behaviors, values, and purposes, typical school procedure has assumed that all children have learned the same ways of behaving and feeling and have the same goals and adjustments, the same criteria of success and achievement.

---

[36] W. C. Trow, *Educational Psychology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2nd ed., 1950), pp. 304-305.

In terms of developmental tasks the school has set up standards of learning, adjustment, and achievement that are felt to be exemplary of "normal" progress. Yet, because a given stratum of society or cultural subgroup may require different developmental tasks, those set up by the school may coincide in varying degrees with those already set up for the individual by his background.[37] This difference has tended to foster competition for individual goals rather than cooperation for group goals, further segmenting and hindering dynamic forces within the group.

All of this has been phrased, optimistically, in the past tense. Some progress has been made away from this form of selective grouping, but it has been slow and has met opposition. Instead of artificial groupings, the way is now open to bring natural groupings into play, thus utilizing the dynamic forces within the group. The principle of shifting or "flexible" grouping is still retained in the sense that different groups evolve in different situations and for different purposes, but the basis of grouping is the individual's choice of associates. In this way "sociometric" grouping evolves and the spontaneous relationships between members of the group are utilized. In relation to these groupings Jennings reports that the individual tends to choose those in the group who give him the emotional support he needs. When he is with them, he shows more maturity in his behavior, acts more intelligently, and is more expansive in his attitude toward other group members. She says, "It is now apparent that a method of grouping which systematically utilizes the children's own efforts to socialize themselves through interaction with one another can be a great vehicle toward development."[38]

---

[37] R. J. Havighurst, *Developmental Tasks and Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948); C. M. Tryon and J. W. Lilienthal, "Developmental Tasks, I. The Concept and Its Importance," *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools*, Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1950), Chapter 6; and "Developmental Tasks, II. Discussion of Specific Tasks and Implications," *ibid.*, Chapter 7.

Jennings' suggestion, however, does not afford complete consideration of the "real state and character" of the group. One major element still remains: the teacher. Because the teacher is an essential in the educational group he or she also contributes to the state and character of the group. Further, the teacher usually has the role of group leader, which intensifies the importance of this individual in the group, for the dynamic relationships between group members are influenced to a marked extent by the attitudes of the leader. These attitudes and their effects have been studied from the viewpoint of "dominative" versus "integrative" behavior by Anderson and from the viewpoint of "authoritarian," "democratic," and "laissez-faire" leader roles in studies by Lewin, Lippitt, and White.

Anderson describes domination as "behavior based partly on a failure to admit the psychological inevitability of individual differences. In domination one attempts to make others behave according to one's own standards or purposes." On the other hand, the expenditure of energy in common purposes is "integrative" behavior because it is socially integrative. He feels that "domination stifles or frustrates individual differences" while "socially integrative behavior promotes the interplay of differences, advances the psychological processes of differentiation and facilitates the emergence of originals."[39]

Perhaps the most central finding of Anderson's study, however, is the indication that both dominative behavior and integrative behavior are "circular" in their effects. As a stimulus to others, each tends to produce its like. Thus, a child subjected to dominative behavior by a teacher not only tended to respond to the teacher in kind but also reacted by displaying dominative behavior toward others in the group. This continuing pattern of action and domina-

[38] Helen H. Jennings, "Sociometric Grouping in Relation to Child Development," *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools*, Chapter 13, p. 225.

[39] H. H. Anderson and others, "Studies of Teachers' Classroom Personalities," *Applied Psychology Monographs I*, No. 6, 1945, p. 9; H. H. Anderson, "Domination and Socially Integrative Behavior," Chapter 27 in R. G. Barker, J. S. Kounin, and H. F. Wright (eds.), *Child Behavior and Development* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1943).

tive behavior propagated in increasing fashion was called the "vicious circle." Similarly, integrative behavior was also reciprocal and propagated. These results corroborate in essence some of the results of the studies by Lewin, Lippitt, and White, oriented toward three types of leader-group interaction: authoritarian, democratic, and *laissez-faire.*[40] In the authoritarian situation the work techniques and assignments, the criticisms of work accomplished, and the policy under which the group operated all came from the leader. In the democratic leader-group relationship work techniques and assignments, activities, and policies were all decided by the group. In the *laissez-faire* situation the leader supplied materials but sharply limited his participation in group activities, giving advice and help only when they were requested. From these three types of leader-group relationships the following results emerged. Under *laissez-faire* policy the group displayed more aggression than in any other relationship because of the conflict between individual motives and goals. In the other two types of groups there was about thirty times as much hostile domination in the autocratic as in the democratic. Autocracy brought demands for attention and more hostile criticism directed not only against the work and leader but also against other group members.

In the democratic situation cooperation and praise of others was more frequent; more constructive suggestions emerged; and the interaction between group members was more serene. Thus, the teacher as group leader exerts influence not only as a member of the group but also in the group or class "atmosphere" which he is instrumental in fostering. Under an authoritarian leader who is the primary source of reward and punishment, only the relationships of the member with the leader are considered to be of marked importance. Others in the group are seen by children as rivals, and the emphasis is on individual goals. At the same time, the leader tends to inspire fear or anger that leads to submission or aggression. Under the *laissez-faire* leader nothing is definite. The individuals are thrown on their own resources in an unstructured situation and confusion results. In the democratic group, however, there is a sharing, a mutuality of dependence and independence in which assets, liabilities, responsibilities, and activities are shared. Respect for and acceptance of members is fostered and rewards are mutual.

---

[40] K. Lewin, R. Lippitt, and R. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created 'Social Climates,'" *Journal of Social Psychology,* 10:271-299, 1939; R. Lippitt, "Field Theory and Experiment in Social Psychology: Autocratic and Democratic Group Atmospheres," *American Journal of Sociology,* 45:26-49, 1939; and R. Lippitt, *Studies on Experimentally Created Autocratic and Democratic Groups,* University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 1940, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 45-198.

This would seem to be the optional atmosphere in terms of learning, achieving, and adjusting. As such, it holds striking significance for the functioning of the individual and for the group. It therefore has strong implication in terms of actual classroom procedure.

IMPLICATIONS OF CONCEPTS OF CHILD GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT FOR ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL CLASSROOM ORGANIZATION, METHODS, MATERIALS, AND ATMOSPHERE

IMPLICATIONS AS TWOFOLD. The implications which evolve from the emerging concepts of child growth and development are twofold: (1) *the need for an insightful approach to the multiple and interrelated influences shaping human development* and (2) *the need for teachers to recognize, accept, and provide for individual differences among children both as individuals and as members of a classroom group*. The first of these is basic to the second. Unless the individual teacher works cooperatively with other teachers and other key people in the development of at least six aspects implied by this unified approach, it will be difficult or almost impossible for her as an individual to realize to the fullest extent the impact of the second point, which relates more specifically to her own classroom functioning. At the same time, the key people with whom she works, such as administrators, supervisors, research workers, and parents, must recognize a mutual responsibility for cooperation with classroom teachers.

THE MULTIPLE APPROACH. *The first of the six aspects* of the unified approach to this problem in multiple causation is the need for clarification of research results and for further research directly related to the classroom situation. Brownell, for example, points out that at the present we have abstract learning theory "without recognizable relation to the process of teaching or the process of learning as it occurs in the classroom." He feels that we must "start with the problems of instruction and . . . to our knowledge of the learning process . . . select what is most useful."[41] Hilgard[42] further points out the necessity for more specific research on how people learn as contrasted with the large body of accumulated data on animal learning.

---

[41] William A. Brownell, "Learning Theory and Educational Practice," *Journal of Educational Research*, 41:497, March, 1948.

[42] Ernest R. Hilgard, *Theories of Learning* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948), p. 329.

The second aspect of the unified approach to the problem is the need for faculties of elementary schools and especially for teacher sequences to be more in consonance in their awareness of the values they stress. The progression of the child through the school from teacher to teacher will thus not involve radical shifts in value comparisons that almost automatically tend to impair the previous gains made by individuals or even by groups.[43] This, in turn, is closely related to pre-service and in-service programs for teachers in the area of child study and human development. *This third aspect* of teacher study groups fosters awareness not only of the development of the child but also of themselves as teachers. One such study program yielding valuable results, as judged by increased teacher self-understanding as well as understanding of pupils, is described by Prescott and others in *Helping Teachers Understand Children.*[44] Another related approach is reported by Cunningham and associates in *Understanding Group Behavior of Boys and Girls.*[45]

The fourth aspect which constitutes an important element of such study is the development and transmission of records from one teacher to the next. Most schools are beginning to devise record forms and accumulate child growth and development data. However, unless such forms are cooperatively planned by teachers, are readily made by one teacher, and are informative and significant to subsequent teachers, they constitute a potential handicap to the staff. Such records, in addition, must give basic data rather than statements of biases and opinions. This aspect is interrelated with the third aspect in that it calls for cooperative teacher study of what to include, how to develop the record, and wherein external influences such as personal biases and opinions may enter. At the present, many important facets of a child's development are omitted even from some extensive records. For example, sociometric data revealing the child's social development in particular groups over a period of time are rarely included. Indications or samples of child creativity in language, music, or art likewise tend to be omitted though these are important.

---

[43] Arthur D. Hollingshead, *Guidance in Democratic Living* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1941).

[44] (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1945).

[45] Ruth Cunningham *et al., Understanding Group Behavior of Boys and Girls* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951).

Evaluation of pupils by teachers constitutes *a fifth aspect* of the unified approach, though this also involves records and reports kept by schools. Consideration here is focused on an over-all evaluation of the child, which includes the teacher evaluation of the pupil, self-evaluation by the individual, and parental evaluation of the child. Such evaluations should consider both the direct effect on the child's level of aspiration and the indirect effects through the reactions of the teacher, family, and classmates. The fact that these varied factors are involved leads to the necessity for mutuality in evaluation; i.e., parents and staff must merge or perhaps reconcile divergencies in goals, values, disciplinary methods and expectancies.

From this fifth aspect emerge implications for the final or *sixth aspect* of unification in approach: the gearing of school curriculum to developmental tasks. Tryon, for example, has defined developmental tasks as "those major common tasks that face all individuals within a given society or sub-group of society."[46]

> . . . There are two major areas of force which interact to set these tasks. The first are the expectancies and pressures of society, the "cultural patterns." The second are the changes that take place in the physical organism through the processes of maturation.
>
> . . . While these expectancies have broad general lines, there will be variations on the same theme for different children, since no two families, no two teachers, no two leaders are exactly alike. Further, some of those expectancies will vary with the sub-group in our society to which the child's family belongs. . . . For every child there is probably a period in his physical growth cycle for maximum accomplishment of any given developmental task.[47]

The school staff, therefore, is faced with the problem of recognizing and reconciling divergencies in goals, values, and expectancies and of evolving a curriculum based on developmental tasks of children in such manner that it permits and facilitates adaptation to variations for each pupil. Such variations may occur in any or all of the following: (1) individual capacities, (2) immediate subgroups of society, e.g., family, and (3) the cultural milieu.

Recognizing Individual Differences. From these six aspects of the unified approach relatively more specific implications for the classroom teacher emerge. These center around *recognition, acceptance, and provision for individual differences among children both as individuals and as members of a classroom group.* The implications may be considered under each of the following headings, which designate three interrelated areas: capacities, environmental factors, and social aspects of group interactions.

---

[46] C. M. Tryon and J. W. Lilienthal, *op. cit.*, Chapter 6, p. 77.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 78. A chart of developmental tasks in relation to Five Stages of Development in "Ten Categories of Behavior" is given on pp. 84-87.

INDIVIDUAL CAPACITIES. Under the heading of *capacities* are included the physiological, mental, and emotional limits especially in reference to learnings traditionally valued by schools. The related practical problems include these: (1) provision for children exceptional in any one or more aspects of their growth and development, (2) promotion policies, interpretation of test data and norms, and expectancies particularly related to the traditional educational function of the school (the teaching of the basic tools).

Increasingly the point of view expressed succinctly by Hardy, in relation to the hard-of-hearing child, appears to be corroborated by data concerning the social-emotional needs of children with other kinds of physical handicaps: "Much of the confusion, frustration, and failure that exists among the children with mild-to-severe impairments comes from failure to provide special education in a learning situation, that is as normal as possible."[48]

Today regular nursery, kindergarten, and college classes are including in increasing numbers individuals partially sighted or totally blind. Nurseries and kindergartens also are enrolling those with partial or total loss of hearing. There is evidence of a trend away from special schools for the child with a physical handicap in vision or in hearing and for some others as well and a growing tendency to place such a child, whenever possible, in a regular classroom and to provide him with the special help he needs in one of several ways but not to segregate him all day from normal children and not to relegate him to the exclusive company of children with a similar difficulty. The child with a physical handicap needs medical attention and requires some special teaching, but emerging concepts of child growth and development alert us to the child's need to think of himself and to have adults and peers think of him first as a child with all the capacities, needs, and interests of other children. He also needs to learn to live and to work with all kinds of people and should not be limited to one group of children all of whom have his particular difficulty. Other children and adults with no physical problems or with less obvious ones also need to learn to adjust to persons who do have serious handicaps.

---

[48] William G. Hardy, *Children with Impaired Hearing* (Washington, D.C.: Children's Bureau Publication, Federal Security Agency, No. 326, 1952), p. 17.

Mentally gifted children also have emotional and social needs that must be considered. Placement in special schools or in classrooms limited to the mentally gifted, therefore, is to be questioned. Such placements are based on either or both of two as yet unproved assumptions: (1) that the mental-educational ability is the single or most important factor to be considered in the development of the child and (2) that the social development of gifted children is closely related to their mental development. Such placements also assume that the teacher of the regular classroom cannot provide for the gifted child's needs and that no other pupils in his regular classroom approach him in mental ability. The mentally gifted child, the child with a special ability or disability, and the so-called average or slow-learning child (in fact, all children) deserve placement in a classroom where *all* their individual and group needs as well as abilities are recognized and provided for.

To make children achieve alike, to reach or even surpass arbitrarily set age or grade norms or standards of achievement no longer is considered the task of the teacher or of the school as has been assumed in the past. To attempt to make pupils reach such norms is to deny their uniqueness in ability, their growth stages and cycles of development, and their personal goals. Such attempts are based on misunderstandings of how norms are derived and of what they therefore denote. They result in teacher feelings of inadequacy and self-blame in relation to some pupils and of unmerited satisfaction in relation to others. For the pupils concerned the consequences are even more serious because teacher attitudes and behavior affect the estimate each child builds of himself. False values and false self-estimates by teachers and by pupils are not conducive to the good mental hygiene of the classroom essential to effective learning.

THE ECOLOGICAL CONTEXT. *In the ecological context of environmental factors* appear the racial, socioeconomic, familial, and physical environments. Such practical problems as age of school entrance, discipline, and reports to parents are closely related.

Today the socioeconomic status of the family is the determining factor in the availability of the nursery school. Good nursery schools are too expensive for many moderate-income families and most day-care centers are limited to children of employed or inadequate mothers. This situation presents a striking problem closely related to the functioning of the American public schools. Many four-year-old and some three-year-old children could profit from attendance several days a week at a publicly financed nursery school administered by the local school board. Such support would help to insure good nursery schools on the basis of emotional, mental, and physical needs of the child and of his mother rather than on socioeconomic status. Also, such local support would, over a period of years, insure coordination of methods and of philosophy of teaching beneficial to children. Clearly, the present gap between nursery and day-care centers on the one side and kindergarten and elementary schools on the other needs to be bridged.

Today the availability of kindergarten to the American child is a matter more of geography than of child need. For many children this inequality of opportunity limits the age of school entrance, regardless of child need, to age six. The trend toward an increasingly large enrollment in the kindergarten classroom and the unquestioned assumption that the kindergarten teacher can instruct a large morning group and a second afternoon group merit serious reconsideration. For the vast majority of children kindergarten or first grade is the major initial experience away from home. The quality of this experience is of prime significance in each child's development. Close cooperation and mutual understanding, therefore, between the parents and the child's first teachers is extremely important with respect to such essentials as concepts and methods of discipline, of health and health habits related to food, proper elimination, and rest, and of the child's need for love and security in all their aspects. To work effectively in these areas with all the parents of pupils in two large classes and also to be an effective teacher is impossible. Cooperation and mutual understanding under such circumstances tend to be minimized in spite of the best efforts by teachers and parents because time is scheduled for the so-called teaching and almost no time remains for parent-teacher conferences.

Evaluation of the child by the teacher, by parents, and by the child himself in overcrowded kindergartens becomes confusing at the very beginning to all three. Unless some degree of mutual understanding of goals and of methods exists between the teacher and parents (and among sequences of teachers within the school) the child suffers from the conflict of goals and values stressed by the two groups of adults most important to him. His concept of self and his estimate of himself and of his family become confused and confusing.

Teacher evaluation of any child should be based on awareness of the information basic in the answers to these four questions:

1. What is the child attempting to accomplish this school year?
2. What difficulties does he face?
3. What assets does he have?
4. What are the school and the home doing to help this child achieve his optimum development?

In addition, the emerging concepts point to the necessity for the teacher to help each child in two specific ways: (1) by helping him to move toward varied goals *including his own* to such an extent that at least some of them are attainable and (2) by helping him to achieve a measure of recognition in the attainment of some of them. To be effective, this progress toward goals and achievement of success must be accomplished within a classroom and school where daily provision for experience in democratic living and learning prevail.

GROUP INTERACTION. An extensive constellation of factors is related to the *social aspects of group interactions*. Many of these factors are relatively new in education. In assessing the implications and applications of this constellation of factors, such items must be included as sociometric groupings, prevention of intragroup cleavages, promotion of friendships and group goals, and furtherance of individual goals through group membership. At the same time group cohesion rather than disruptive competition for individual goals should be fostered. All of these matters should be considered in conjunction with the teacher's growing recognition of her own role as a unique member of the group.

Closely related to the social aspects of group interactions are the practical problems such as class size and subgroupings of children, discipline, departmentalized programs, and sex differences in interests and abilities. The findings of Jennings,[49] for example, delineate some of the potentialities in sociometric groupings, as related to improving discipline, recognizing sex differences, and improving departmental programs. She found that, when allowed to choose his associates and work-mates, the individual child sub-

[49] Helen H. Jennings, *op. cit.*

sequently acts more maturely and intelligently. Sex differences, it was noted, tend to be minimized by the self-selection of workmates. That is, children were found either to choose individuals at similar levels or else to attach themselves to more advanced members who seemed able to help them in specific ways. For the school, then, this discovery implies the desirability of flexible and/or shifting groupings in various situations.

Class size is another cogent factor in grouping. Above certain optimal sizes the class tends to fragment or disrupt into relatively discrete segments, so that many of the beneficial possibilities that lie in utilizing the natural dynamic forces of the group are neutralized. Below optimal classroom sizes (tentatively around fifteen to twenty pupils) the tendency to operate as individual units rather than as a cohesive group (or as changing subgroups for various purposes) again results in diminished returns in attempting to use group forces. This is closely related to the need to obscure and to minimize group cleavages based, for example, on race, religion, class status, and perhaps even age.

The policy of chronological age-grade groupings common to many school systems also deserves reconsideration because social development does not depend exclusively upon age. Children generally remain, throughout their entire elementary- and high-school days, in the sole company of pupils approximately their age. They seldom are well acquainted with children older or younger than they (with the exception of their siblings), regardless of the similarity of their interests to those of pupils in other grades. Some of the difficulties encountered by children for these reasons are far-reaching, as Peter Blos has clearly stated:

> The social development of boys and girls does not depend upon their age, a fact which makes itself painfully evident at the pre-adolescent level. While the boys are still collecting, constructing, and manipulating, girls are already interested in problems of human relations and in expression through the arts; girls have already developed a marked interest in the other sex. . . . The fact that boys must compete with girls who are much more mature than they are—and this at a time when their own mental and social capacity is being affected by profound personality changes—this circumstance is likely to result in strains which give rise to the behavior disorders and neurotic manifestations occurring so frequently in boys at this time.[50]

---

[50] Peter Blos, *op. cit.*, pp. 250-251.

SUMMARY

Concepts of child growth and development emerge with increasing clarity from the mass of research data derived from cultural anthropology, education, medicine, psychology, and sociology. This chapter has considered these concepts in relation to (1) the development of the child as a unique individual, (2) the uniqueness of the individual as modified by special groups such as the family, and (3) the interaction between the individual and the group.

From these three points above the following two implications may be derived for elementary-school organization, methods, and materials:

First, there is need for an insightful approach to the multiple and interrelated influences shaping human development:

by clarification of research results and by additional research directly related to the classroom situation,
by fostering among teachers a greater awareness of and consistency with regard to the values they hold and stress,
by initiating and encouraging the study of human growth and development as an integral part of pre-service and in-service programs for teachers,
by developing and transmitting from teacher to teacher developmental data essential in understanding the individual pupil's growth and development,
by evaluations of the pupil that facilitate his continued and maximum growth in all respects, and
by adapting the curriculum to the developmental tasks of the child.

Second, there is the need for teachers to recognize, accept, and provide for individual differences among children, both as individuals and as members of a classroom group:

by provision of resource and learning materials within the classroom that are readily accessible to pupils and appropriately varied in content and in difficulty,
by close cooperation with the child's family and by seeking knowledge of his other out-of-school groups and influences,
by provision for daily experiences in democratic living and learning,
by helping the child to set goals he can attain and to achieve a measure of success and awareness of his growth,

by provision for some sociometric classroom groupings made by pupils,
by promotion of friendships among children's age-mates and among older or younger children with similar interests,
by fostering both group goals and individual goals, and
by increased self and mutual understanding and respect among pupils and teachers.

REFERENCES

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, *Helping Teachers Understand Children*. Washington, D.C.: The Council, 1945.

ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, *Fostering Mental Health in Our Schools*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1950.

BENNÉ, KENNETH D., MUNTYAN, BOZIDAR, ET AL., *Human Relations in Curriculum Change*. New York: The Dryden Press, 1951.

BLAIR, ARTHUR W., AND BURTON, WILLIAM H., *Growth and Development of the Preadolescent*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951.

CARMICHAEL, LEONARD (ED.), *Manual of Child Psychology*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1946.

CUNNINGHAM, RUTH, ET AL., *Understanding Group Behavior of Boys and Girls*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951.

ERIKSON, ERIK H., *Childhood and Society*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1950.

FRENCH, J. R. P., JR., "Disruption and Cohesion of Groups," *Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology*, 36:361-378, 1941.

HARDY, WILLIAM G., *Children with Impaired Hearing*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, Children's Bureau Publication No. 326, 1952.

HAVIGHURST, ROBERT J., *Developmental Tasks and Education*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1951.

HEATON, MARGARET M., *Feelings Are Facts*. New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1952.

HOLLINGSHEAD, ARTHUR D., *Guidance in Democratic Living*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1941.

JENNINGS, HELEN HALL, *Sociometry in Group Relations*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1948.

KUHLEN, RAYMOND G., *The Psychology of Adolescent Development*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952.

LANE, HOWARD A., *Shall Children Too Be Free?* Chicago: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1949.

POWELL, J. W., "Dynamics of Group Formation," *Psychiatry*, 11:117-124, May, 1948.

SHANE, HAROLD G., AND MCSWAIN, E. T., *Evaluation and the Elementary Curriculum*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1951.

SMITH, NILA BANTON, Chairman, Committee of the National Conference on Research in English, *Areas of Research Interest in the Language Arts*. Chicago: National Council of Teachers of English, 1952.

TABA, HILDA; ROBINSON, JOHN; HALL, ELIZABETH, AND VICKERY, WILLIAM, *Diagnosing Human Relations Needs*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1951.

THEMAN, VIOLA, *A Good School Day*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1950.

———, "Research Indicates More Effective Ways of Teaching Spelling," *National Education Association Journal*, 40:607-608, December, 1951.

WITTY, PAUL A. (ED.), *The Gifted Child*. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1951.

CHAPTER V

Public Attitudes and Pressures as Determinants of Elementary-School Practices[1]

THE wave of current attacks and pressures upon the schools goes deeply into our origin and history as a nation. True there are some sporadic flash episodes that seem to burst out overnight but in general to understand the attitudes toward today's schools with the hope of working for the good of education demands a perspective.

Doubtlessly as we grow to realize what these frequently rough experiences mean we will mature enough to deal constructively with them. Conversely if we are satisfied with surface analyses we will remain inadequate to the task ahead. In the long run, if we accept the responsibility to understand public attitudes, opinions, and pressures we will stretch our own education markedly. Out of today's stresses can come a higher stature for the educator, parent, and public who are concerned with the schools.

UNRAVELING SOME THREADS

A BRIEF LOOK AT SOME INFLUENTIAL FACTORS IN OUR ORIGIN. When we consider the fact that we are a nation of many cultures, with widely divergent ideological backgrounds, all transplanted in a free society, we should be less alarmed at tensions than surprised at the degree of unanimity and even strong unity which from time to time is expressed. Out of our cultural differences, we are often reminded, we get not only much of our strength but also many of our fears, our tensions, and some uneasiness. An elementary school, for example, in Michigan which serves a neighborhood community of families with Irish, Italian, Norwegian, and English backgrounds may face certain problems and tensions which a preponderantly Mormon community in Utah or nearly all-English community in

---

[1] This chapter was written by Roma Gans, Teachers College, Columbia University.

POWELL, J. W., "Dynamics of Group Formation," *Psychiatry*, 11:117-124, May, 1948.

SHANE, HAROLD G., AND MCSWAIN, E. T., *Evaluation and the Elementary Curriculum*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1951.

SMITH, NILA BANTON, Chairman, Committee of the National Conference on Research in English, *Areas of Research Interest in the Language Arts*. Chicago: National Council of Teachers of English, 1952.

TABA, HILDA; ROBINSON, JOHN; HALL, ELIZABETH, AND VICKERY, WILLIAM, *Diagnosing Human Relations Needs*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1951.

THEMAN, VIOLA, *A Good School Day*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1950.

———, "Research Indicates More Effective Ways of Teaching Spelling," *National Education Association Journal*, 40:607-608, December, 1951.

WITTY, PAUL A. (ED.), *The Gifted Child*. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1951.

CHAPTER V

Public Attitudes and Pressures as Determinants of Elementary-School Practices[1]

THE wave of current attacks and pressures upon the schools goes deeply into our origin and history as a nation. True there are some sporadic flash episodes that seem to burst out overnight but in general to understand the attitudes toward today's schools with the hope of working for the good of education demands a perspective.

Doubtlessly as we grow to realize what these frequently rough experiences mean we will mature enough to deal constructively with them. Conversely if we are satisfied with surface analyses we will remain inadequate to the task ahead. In the long run, if we accept the responsibility to understand public attitudes, opinions, and pressures we will stretch our own education markedly. Out of today's stresses can come a higher stature for the educator, parent, and public who are concerned with the schools.

UNRAVELING SOME THREADS

A BRIEF LOOK AT SOME INFLUENTIAL FACTORS IN OUR ORIGIN. When we consider the fact that we are a nation of many cultures, with widely divergent ideological backgrounds, all transplanted in a free society, we should be less alarmed at tensions than surprised at the degree of unanimity and even strong unity which from time to time is expressed. Out of our cultural differences, we are often reminded, we get not only much of our strength but also many of our fears, our tensions, and some uneasiness. An elementary school, for example, in Michigan which serves a neighborhood community of families with Irish, Italian, Norwegian, and English backgrounds may face certain problems and tensions which a preponderantly Mormon community in Utah or nearly all-English community in

---

[1] This chapter was written by Roma Gans, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Vermont does not face. The religious bond of the Mormons and the language bond of the Vermonters can serve as a shock absorber for problems.

The very fact that immigrants tended to settle in little colonies is proof of the well-being they must have sought in so doing. When elementary schools were established they mirrored such settlements. Some were public schools serving a neighborhood or village, others were parochial or church schools or were nonsectarian private schools or academies. They all reflected by the circumstances of their origin the background of the community whose children they were to serve. Changes in such schools might have been sought and achieved, but the closeness of the schools to their supporting public caused few of the stresses and strains so common today.

A PUBLIC EXPERIENCED, HENCE VOCAL. An important factor contributing to the serenity surrounding the schools, at least in part, was the lack of education in many parents of a century past. They had not lived in a country and time when schooling was every child's right. Now they were helping to build that part of our American dream. An uneducated public looks reverently at the schools; citizens experienced in the schools' work not only have lost some of their awe but have acquired ideas for their change. The saying, "Education is everybody's business," is based on sound observation. Add to this the widely accepted dictum that citizens should be active and speak out on matters of their concern in this land of freedom and the natural effect of such combined influences is a public often loud and vigorous of voice about what the schools do, should continue to do, and, more frequently, should not do. To anticipate anything else seems unrealistic.

To expect the schools to be free from attacks by the vicious and dishonest is equally unrealistic. Once a community mobilizes itself, all manner of individuals and groups become activated. This is the thorn that grows with the flower of our concept of freedom.

CONFIDENCE THROUGH CONTACTS. As elementary schools and school systems became larger and larger, the problem of keeping the community related to its schools was met by establishing boards of education, or, as in the rural areas, boards of trustees or school committees. This administration plan stemming from appropriate concern and deep sincerity seemed for a long period to assure many communities that the schools were truly theirs. But splits seem to be appearing at many seams.

In community after community hotly contested issues have arisen and complicated the selection or election of school board members. Protests by public and professional groups have been raised against executive sessions of boards of education, which have been called *star chamber sessions* because the public was locked out of meetings where important policies affecting the schools often were being decided. In many districts parent and lay groups were organized with the hope of working more closely with the schools for what these groups felt to be the good of the children.

School leaders sensed that these events were symptomatic of a public growing uneasy about the schools or losing confidence in them. Such leaders made—and are continuing to make—proposals and changes to reestablish a relationship of mutual trust. Executive sessions of boards of education are discouraged. Committees of lay and professional workers and individuals are welcomed in many communities at meetings where policies are openly and freely discussed. Parent groups, formerly discouraged or at best tolerated, now are welcomed. Lay participation is not only accepted but encouraged. At all points where elementary education touches the life of the child and his family, school leaders are seeking to establish wholesome cooperative and confident relationships with home and school.

Welcome Pro but Problem Con. Endorsement and approval are welcomed and quickly assimilated by most human beings, no matter what the source. Disapproval, rejection, and negative criticism, on the other hand, are likely to cause some emotional indigestion. A careful effort to screen the penetrating observation from the petty, the sincere from the spurious, the stable from the emotional is, unfortunately, infrequently made. The stock procedure too often involves labeling the parent, citizen, or teacher who has an unusual idea or question a *sore thumb* or *malcontent*.

Stifling or ridiculing all manner of pressures has been all too frequent. Mixed with many of the unworthy or dishonest issues were some of unique value, now perhaps forever lost to the schools. Many of the originators of novel ideas probably withdrew their interest in schools, others doubtless sought new ways of getting attention to their problems, while still others went underground to develop more effective campaigns. Beyond question, some of the pressure attacks of today are tapping the feelings of frustration engendered for the past several decades. As a nation wanting a free market place for ideas we are slow learners in discovering peaceful and constructive ways of meeting them. As of today, we realize the error of our former ways. We also must realize that no simple formula will result in speedy community-wide serenity with regard to the questions and quandaries developing over the years.

Toward American Ideals Through Education. At no time in the elementary school's history was the curriculum *established* or *constant*. Change *did* occur. The school's program *did* change from strict adherence to the *Horn Book* or to *McGuffey's Readers* even though the change was glacially slow. However, since the postwar days of World War I an increasingly deliberate, accelerating move to study and improve the elementary school's curriculum has been under way. The respect for the schools' obligation in developing democratic citizens also has grown rather than lessened, but the assumption that the schools are actually doing an adequate job is questioned from within the profession of education as well as from without.

It is regrettable but understandable that in these days of tensions arising out of international and domestic uncertainties the schools feel the reflection of this uneasiness. It is doubly regrettable that some of this uneasiness may obstruct the very changes in educational programs which, in light of our increased knowledge and maturity, need to be made. Taxpayers motivated to cut school costs may curtail not only desirable but positively essential expenditures. Again, citizens with a warped concept of patriotism may cull from classrooms and libraries books and other materials essential to children's proper learning. Or special interest groups may thrust into the hands of children materials designed to indoctrinate them in favor of their particular interest.

Prejudiced and otherwise unenlightened individuals may threaten federal aid to schools because of fear of aiding the trend to nonsegregation. Others, also prejudiced, may respond to the church-state issue by opposing public schools even as others oppose private parochial or private nonsectarian schools. Another cluster of groups—many local and often sporadic—raise doubts about methods of teaching, discipline, and particularly the teaching of the *fundamentals* often referred to as the three R's.

Excellent studies and articles dealing with the activities of the many groups attacking education have come off the press in the last few years.[2] Also, answers to their attacks and questions have been made in writing and from platforms. Sociologists, historians, and social psychologists remind us that many of these pressures are symptomatic of unsolved problems, a number of which go back to our origins, as was briefly suggested earlier; others arise out of the unsettled life of today. Facing crises large and small honestly, coolly, and intelligently can help communities, citizens, and educators alike to achieve a higher level of education and community living than heretofore has been realized.

IMPORTANCE OF PARENT-CHILD-SCHOOL UNITY. Last, but by no means least, in this discussion of pressures is the growing awareness on the part of informed laymen and educators of the importance of cooperative relations between the home and school to a child's wholesome growth. A child is better able to adjust to the world about him if the most important institutions in his life enjoy comfortable, confident working relations. There may be differences of opinions between home and school, but a child senses and gains from a mutual trust and respect between the adults who guide him on essential matters. Conversely, many controversies, if they are ineptly handled actually may confuse and upset children, raising doubts in their minds about the competence and worthiness of some of their elders and making it difficult for children to learn and grow comfortably. Further, new ways of cooperatively planning the education of children must be developed in order that boys and girls do not suffer the brunt of our mistakes. Small wonder that informed, healthy school communities are bending every effort to discover how best to plan the work of the schools.

EDUCATOR'S RESPONSIBILITY REDEFINED

Several decades ago when the number of schools was being rapidly increased and educators were beginning to push toward establishing themselves as a profession, plans for school practices often were decided hastily by administrators or supervisors. Teachers did not commonly share in curriculum planning; neither did parents. Especially was this the case in the 1920's when the scientific movement was waxing strong.

There are some who fear that now the pendulum is swinging ideas we are slow learners in discovering peaceful and constructive ways of meeting them. As of today, we realize the error of our former ways. We also must realize that no simple formula will result in speedy community-wide serenity with regard to the questions and quandaries developing over the years.

---

[2] Cf. *Progressive Education* for January, 1952; the *Saturday Review of Literature,* September 8, 1951; and various publications of the NEA Defense Commission.

TOWARD AMERICAN IDEALS THROUGH EDUCATION. At no time in the elementary school's history was the curriculum *established* or *constant*. Change *did* occur. The school's program *did* change from strict adherence to the *Horn Book* or to *McGuffey's Readers* even though the change was glacially slow. However, since the postwar days of World War I an increasingly deliberate, accelerating move to study and improve the elementary school's curriculum has been under way. The respect for the schools' obligation in developing democratic citizens also has grown rather than lessened, but the assumption that the schools are actually doing an adequate job is questioned from within the profession of education as well as from without.

It is regrettable but understandable that in these days of tensions arising out of international and domestic uncertainties the schools feel the reflection of this uneasiness. It is doubly regrettable that some of this uneasiness may obstruct the very changes in educational programs which, in light of our increased knowledge and maturity, need to be made. Taxpayers motivated to cut school costs may curtail not only desirable but positively essential expenditures. Again, citizens with a warped concept of patriotism may cull from classrooms and libraries books and other materials essential to children's proper learning. Or special interest groups may thrust into the hands of children materials designed to indoctrinate them in favor of their particular interest.

Prejudiced and otherwise unenlightened individuals may threaten federal aid to schools because of fear of aiding the trend to nonsegregation. Others, also prejudiced, may respond to the church-state issue by opposing public schools even as others oppose private parochial or private nonsectarian schools. Another cluster of groups—many local and often sporadic—raise doubts about methods of teaching, discipline, and particularly the teaching of the *fundamentals* often referred to as the three R's.

Excellent studies and articles dealing with the activities of the many groups attacking education have come off the press in the last few years.[2] Also, answers to their attacks and questions have been made in writing and from platforms. Sociologists, historians, and social psychologists remind us that many of these pressures are symptomatic of unsolved problems, a number of which go back to our origins, as was briefly suggested earlier; others arise out of the unsettled life of today. Facing crises large and small honestly, coolly, and intelligently can help communities, citizens, and educators alike to achieve a higher level of education and community living than heretofore has been realized.

IMPORTANCE OF PARENT-CHILD-SCHOOL UNITY. Last, but by no means least, in this discussion of pressures is the growing awareness on the part of informed laymen and educators of the importance of cooperative relations between the home and school to a child's wholesome growth. A child is better able to adjust to the world about him if the most important institutions in his life enjoy comfortable, confident working relations. There may be differences of opinions between home and school, but a child senses and gains from a mutual trust and respect between the adults who guide him on essential matters. Conversely, many controversies, if they are ineptly handled actually may confuse and upset children, raising doubts in their minds about the competence and worthiness of some of their elders and making it difficult for children to learn and grow comfortably. Further, new ways of cooperatively planning the education of children must be developed in order that boys and girls do not suffer the brunt of our mistakes. Small wonder that informed, healthy school communities are bending every effort to discover how best to plan the work of the schools.

EDUCATOR'S RESPONSIBILITY REDEFINED

Several decades ago when the number of schools was being rapidly increased and educators were beginning to push toward establishing themselves as a profession, plans for school practices often were decided hastily by administrators or supervisors. Teachers did not commonly share in curriculum planning; neither did parents. Especially was this the case in the 1920's when the scientific movement was waxing strong.

There are some who fear that now the pendulum is swinging from the extreme of "central-office determinism" in the 1920's to a new extreme: "everybody's business." This fear is unfounded because the emphasis is not on *who* is responsible for children's education. Rather, it is a matter of determining how parents, other citizens, and the teaching profession, all of whom have a responsibility, shall more effectively meet this responsibility. Obviously a school board, no matter how conscientious and competent, cannot divine all views and aspirations of laymen, parents, and teachers for the schools. Neither can school administrators nor curriculum coordinators. Neither can teachers. And it is equally obvious that no blueprint for action can be dreamed up by someone automatically to be applied in all situations. No such panacea is waiting around anybody's corner.

---

[2] Cf.*Progressive Education* for January, 1952; the *Saturday Review of Literature*, September 8, 1951; and various publications of the NEA Defense Commission.

NEW STEPS AND NEW PROBLEMS. It seems reasonable that educators should consider it their responsibility to initiate steps for bringing community interests together for the purpose of discussing, planning, and carrying out school changes. In so doing, educators will not be shedding their professional obligations but rather will be redefining them. And in this process a number of questions will arise which will need careful study. For example: What about communities with sharp cleavages on what is to be taught—narrow skills and subject matter or more inclusive skills and subject matter. What will become of the unique function of teachers and other educators? How can the problem of segregation be constructively dealt with in southern communities? What about differences of opinion on sex education? How can the schools help reduce tensions and increase understanding on questions dealing with religious teaching?

How can the ghetto schools of large and even small communities be changed to good schools for the neighborhood's children? How far into community planning and local, state, and national politics should educators go in working on some of these problems? Then there are many problems around organization of groups for study and subsequent work. How about standing committees? Or policy-making groups? And when and how to find time for urgent and long-range group work? Such questions must be worked out in each community if their answers are to satisfy all concerned.

COOPERATIVE EFFORT AND EMERGING PROBLEMS. Pressures do not automatically disappear once schools work with community members in open and shared ways. Even where such efforts have been in progress for a number of years, protesting individuals and organized groups emerge. It is conceivable that some controversies may even find their origin in cooperative planning.

For example, a community with sharp divisions in political and economic thinking cruised along smoothly for years until parents and other lay citizens were called together to help in resolving problems centering around children's fist fights after school hours. A pitched battle had broken out between children from two elementary schools, one in an upper-middle-class residential area, the other located in what was once the main business center of the town. The *town* group called the *residence* group "sissies," the *residence* group called the *town* group "scummies." Some members of the committee felt the town group was reflecting the "dangerous" thinking coming from unions. Others felt that children were reflecting the snobbish attitude of their parents. Both sides brought to the surface fears which they had had no opportunity to vocalize before. These fears, once voiced, revealed diametrically opposing political and economic positions. Each side felt strongly that the school was tending to teach their children contrary to what was right.

Although good work eventually was done on developing wholesome after-school community recreation for the youngsters which did much to eliminate their gang warfare, the adults were left with that difficult-to-resolve question, *Should the schools guide our children away from parental views on such matters as economics, or skip any reference to them?* Such differences cannot be cleared away simply or in a short time. One must learn to live patiently with them while helping those who feel them most intensely to acquire patience too.

As we learn to work together we shall certainly meet over and over again the reality of differences of viewpoint about the most important matters of our day. To educators, for so long engaged with problems not directly related to many of these sharper issues of our time or, as in the case of many, even consciously trying to avoid them, such realities may come as a blow. The quicker their depth in our conflicting values and historical origins is sensed by school workers, the wiser will the plans be whereby they are met. In no case should the conscientious school staff and community members feel guilty about the emergence of conflicts of the sort described in the preceding paragraphs or slow progress made in facing them effectively.

Another problem which is likely to stem from cooperative efforts is the separation of citizens into *pro* and *anti* groups on many matters which in less organized communities do not take form. With experience such divisions will be obviated in most cases. Studying the techniques for avoiding divisive effects has already become an important undertaking of schools, unions, business management, governmental agencies, and other large and small organizations and associations. Stuart Chase[3] has drawn upon excellent examples to show the seriousness with which groups are facing working-together needs. The work of Kurt Lewin and many others has much to offer the school groups who are and will be seriously engaged in a studied and intelligent approach to meeting differences of opinion on matters of education.

TEACHER PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL-COMMUNITY PLANNING. Another and certainly difficult problem likely to be met is the factor of time—especially time for teachers to share in planning. The teacher's work with children not only is energy consuming but demands continuous and uninterrupted time. To add to the day's work with late-afternoon, evening, and week-end meetings may be overtaxing of energies. Yet in many communities the teachers' interest in such work and the high morale of the faculty have more than compensated for additional time that has been invested. In other communities parents and other substitutes help free the teachers and in so doing serve to lessen the effect of their absence from children while working with planning groups. This, like other problems, needs a local approach and experimentation for solution. Certainly teachers are essential members in many phases of school-community planning.

THE EDUCATOR'S UNIQUE RESPONSIBILITIES. On the part of some educators and lay people there is the question of where the unique responsibility of a professionally equipped educator begins and the responsibility of lay persons' or groups' cooperative function ends. At what point must an educator be responsible or fail in his obligation to the community's children? If some parents want to work on community problems and others do not or are indifferent, then what? When a committee asks that all textbooks which refer to Russia be eliminated, then what? When an organization asks the deletion of art, music, and all supervised outdoor play to cut down school costs—and has wide community support of such request—what do educators do about it? How can the pressure for religious teaching in time away from the school be met when others are opposed to it? These questions seem to suggest the answer to the question about the unique responsibility of the teacher.

Certainly once the public has begun honestly to share in planning the curriculum and administration of the elementary school, educators should not and perhaps *cannot* selectively—and quietly—

---

[3] Cf. Chase's viewpoints in *Roads to Agreement*.

screen out the "difficult" questions when they enter the scene. And certainly as such work progresses the question of professional obligation is sure to arise. This question merits more than passing mention.

Just as we expect the medical profession to continue to uphold and develop those practices which assure us the optimum healthy life, and the courts to uphold and develop those practices which assure us justice, so too should we expect the educational profession *to uphold and develop those practices which assure each child and adult his optimum opportunity to grow intellectually to meet his needs in our world society*. There are many individuals and associations also committed to this responsibility, but no one should feel the impact of this commitment more strongly than should every educator, be he teacher, specialist, or administrator. A profession so dedicated need not search far for its unique responsibility because obviously it is to help each community to develop basically enlightening educational opportunities for all children and youth. Any effort therefore to deny one child of this essential right, or to warp his thinking, or to put blinders on him by depriving him of an opportunity to explore important issues central to his understanding of today's world must be faced forthrightly by the educators. Parents and other lay citizens also have a proper interest in the child's right to education free from abortive or twisting pressures, *but the educator ceases to be an educator once he fails at this point.*

This responsibility of the educational profession to establish and maintain good education obviously cannot be met by educators working apart from their communities or in highhanded fashion. The teacher or administrator who admits "giving in to pressures in order to save my job" should examine thoroughly what ways of meeting the pressures might have been used without jeopardizing that job.

Unfortunately, fine members of the educational profession have resigned or have been dismissed because of pressures coming from anti-educational sources. To increase such instances can put a serious blight on education. Yet to face the facts of today's pressure while hoping not to increase placing responsible educators in jeopardy demands a far greater study of methods of meeting pressure groups. There is no escaping this fact: we must keep education honest and enlightening by growing in our techniques for its defense against pressures that would weaken or destroy it. At the same time it is not necessarily dishonorable to seek ways of meeting pressures with tact and good will.

Controversial Content. It is frequently stated that educators must help children and adults think and arrive at good and wise decisions in the most crucial problems of living. There may be differences of opinion on which problems are "most" crucial. The following ones, however, are among those which would almost certainly be placed on lists of important problems at this time in our American life:

1. How to establish peaceful relations with Russia and Russian satellites.
2. How to develop better attitudes toward and relationships with minority groups.
3. How to raise the level of study, discussion, and all citizenship action in the field of politics on local, state, national, and international levels.
4. How to examine intelligently such particular problem areas as our economic shortages, religious education, church-state relationships, and segregation.

At a quick glance these topics seem miles away from the needs and interests of an elementary-school child—and his teacher. But are they? Is a child developing an attitude of *kill-off-all-Russians* (or other enemies) out of what he hears and overhears in today's radio programs, in other children's discussions, and in family conversations or an attitude bespeaking the belief that *some honorable way out of conflict must be sought through peaceful means*? Will he grow up believing in or advocating genocide or working in every way possible against it? Will he grow to believe that neighbors who speak with an accent or who are of another race or who are not as well off as he economically are worthy of being recognized for their individual worth? Or will he use a stereotype and label them uncouth, scavenger, low-brow? Will he be at home with the great variation within our population or only secure with others of his kind? What will his attitudes do to help him analyze proposed legislation to improve social conditions? Will he enter into discussion on most questions as a thinking member of the group or with a closed mind? Will he grow to see that when things in a neighborhood, state, or wider area need change he has a responsibility to share in constructive action for such change?

Socially wholesome attitudes can be developed (and in many schools already are being developed) through the elementary school's work. The guidance of the child in regard to how he is helped to work with those of his own age, in the whole school, in the neighborhood, and within his own family contributes heavily toward the direction he will follow in later years as an adult confronted with decisions in human relationships. Therefore, the all too common brush-off given to the matter of controversial issues by elementary-school teachers, administrators, and specialists warrants reexamination. Fortunately, present-day concerns about value and attitude development, and about environmental effects on children, are challenging indifference in public education.

It is around such content as is inherent in harmonious group living that great uneasiness and controversy arise. Lay individuals and groups (fearful of ideas on these topics which are at variance with their own) bring pressure to keep such content out of discussion, out of books and films, out of the child's reach. It is in relation to fears in these areas that most instances of censorship have arisen. Some of these fears, as briefly stated earlier in this chapter, are deeply rooted in our history and do not lend themselves to simple analysis or simple treatment when met on the school's doorstep. But to cull from the school's influences on the child all experiences which have a bearing on the pervasive problems in today's living is as sound as it would be to say *teach him but don't influence him in those matters that are central to American democracy*. It clearly is not professionally ethical for an educator to be indifferent or easily swayed by pressures which are aimed at censoring current social content from the elementary-school curriculum.

CONTROVERSIAL ATTITUDES. The seriousness of the attempts to influence the child's learning by some misguided pressures looms even larger when one sifts out the fact that the development of thinking and humane attitudes too are challenged. Surely every one of us reading these pages has met questions such as these:

How can you educate a child to be a loyal American if you teach him so that he questions elements in the system of private enterprise?

Are we making children cynics by teaching them so they feel we have not yet found good answers to conflicts that lead to wars?

How can children respect us if we admit we have no pat answers for some of our questions?

Will such teaching lead them away from their respect for parents, leaders, church, and American traditions?

In short, is thinking which develops a questioning attitude safe or wise? Without being facetious one may more properly ask, Is thinking possible unless it embodies a questioning attitude? Parents, teachers, and all adults who work and live close to children are acting out their answer to this conflict in educational practice. No matter what one verbalizes, is he aiding a child to think out some partial or beginning answers to recurring questions or is he insisting that an all-wise adult knows best and that he, a juvenile, should listen and remember? Pressures that have as their purpose the development of a non-questioning attitude on the part of elementary-school children are striking at the very core of a child's education.

Guiding children in good human relations, if competently done, is certain to affect their attitude toward minority groups and those needs of living which have to do with the general welfare. Children who become aware of cooperative and friendly ways of working with others to meet problems also become aware of unfair practices, prejudices, and selfish goal seeking. They will be acquiring humane attitudes which will later affect their civic conduct in relation to housing, wages, segregation, taxes, social legislation, and social reforms.

The development of concern for the other fellow which is so readily observed in a good elementary school cannot be put on a leash so its area is limited to "our kind" only. And there are many adults, especially those who reject such concerns on a national level by their open campaigns against "the welfare state," who are intelligent in realizing this fact. The conflict between humane values and personal gain is sometimes reflected in their attempts to direct school practices away from the inclusion of understanding of good social living by emphasizing skills and subject matter separated from group living. Some of the attacks on the social studies—content, method, and materials—stem from the fear of educating children to sense the fundamentally democratic nature of social concern and social action implied in the interest of all men. Again one must ask, Is it professionally ethical for an educator to be indifferent to or easily swayed by pressures which are aimed at censoring the elementary-school program in order to warp the children's growth in terms of socially desirable attitudes?

Here then, in the face of such challenges to the school's work, is where all educators must see their important responsibility: so to work within the profession, and within community and nation, that the schools not only remain free to educate honestly but are aided and encouraged in realizing the meaning of "the general welfare."

Learning Through Experimenting

From the increase of lay participation in educational planning it seems fair to conclude that important first steps toward meeting pressures on the schools have already been taken. Implicit in experiments to develop school-community planning is the tacit belief that such shared efforts are appropriate to *public schools* in our democracy. A land with an ideal of government of, by, and for the people must have schools in which policies and practices for the public's children are planned and carried out with as much cooperation as can feasibly be developed. The delay in many school districts in arriving at this stage in public education can be assumed to be a contributing factor to today's release of long-pent-up protests, questions, and other symptoms of frustration on the part of individuals and groups.

Critical Study of Controversial Issues. In the last few years we have witnessed an intensification of interest in and study of some of the persons and groups attacking education. The results of some of these studies have been well publicized. Who the attackers are, what their motives are, and what they are working to accomplish are some of the essential questions for which these studies sought answers.

Of equal importance with these studies is another matter: How far back into our school and community life do the issues which lead to attacks extend? If we stop the local super-patriots, bigots, or dogma peddlers, do we settle some of these issues? Regrettably we recall that we rested on false hopes after World War I, believing that the world was safe for democracy because we had dethroned the Kaiser. Then came World War II, again with a despotic foe, this time not a Kaiser but a Fuehrer.

How deep into history do the *causes* of these wars go? Analogously, a study of *causes* which goes beyond the persons who wage attacks against the schools is urgent. This kind of study of critical issues in each community should be a continuous study with educators for two reasons. First, because we have been weak or remiss in our knowledge of the sociology of communities which underlies issues. Second, because the dynamics in community life create scene-shifting effects, now turning up one type of issue with its backers and opposers, now turning up another type, often with a new alignment of proponents and antagonists. If we accept pressures as normal in community behavior in these days and avoid defensive behavior on our part, we are then more free emotionally to plan constructively how to meet situations in which they occur and about which there is divided opinion.

EXPERIMENTING WITH COOPERATIVE EFFORTS. As educators divest themselves of a feeling of personal authority in making school decisions they come better to recognize places where educational questions, topics, problems, and plans need to be examined and discussed in company with lay groups. For example, in one community with which the writer is familiar the annual fall health examination was considered outmoded. Instead of substituting the present one with a revised one planned by the administration (as would have been done two decades ago), the school's health staff, representatives from parents' and teachers' organizations, and two local medical men were invited to meet and study the health examination procedures.

The result surprised the school's staff. The parents, it was learned, felt the records of the health examination conducted without parents' knowledge or presence were for the most part ignored. The doctors, on their part, put little stock in the type of examination conducted. The teachers felt health information regarding individual children might be sought at times when a child showed signs of needing a careful checkup, perhaps in addition to the annual one. After several meetings a more inclusive study of the community's health resources was recommended. Other agencies were called upon to cooperate and plans are now in progress which will relate the school's health program to some new resources which the community hopes to establish.

Thus, out of one wise step in cooperative planning to meet children's needs a new and wholesome cooperative relationship and good attitudes were created as concomitants of a fine plan for meeting children's health needs. Multiplying such experiences in working out good programs in the elementary school not only weaves a community into new ways of working together but helps to build a constructive attitude toward the community's schools.

When a group of people reveal worries or dissatisfactions, calling a meeting at which ideas can be shared with representatives of other groups who have a stake in the education of children will seem a natural procedure. In so doing, the need for understanding how to meet protest in group discussion is imperative. The responsibility for developing the skills and understanding of good group procedures rests with the educator although labor unions, business leaders, church groups, and many others—including army and navy personnel—are at work in this area. Here again, knowledge of community make-up is most important.

The tendency to stratify communities into high-count, low-count, and no-count groups has persisted for so long that a genuine effort is now needed to offset this destructive and antidemocratic practice. Some dissident groups, once called in and given the respect which comes from being heard, relax their feelings and join forces with cooperating citizens. An understanding of how groups may redirect their attitudes will grow as we continue to experiment cooperatively in meeting new issues and needs.

Examining the Status and Work of the Classroom Teacher. As schools developed over the last century, and especially when systems began to grow large and unwieldy, the teacher became more remote from school planning and his status as an individual seemed to deteriorate. Teachers have come, as a result, to type themselves as the *bottom rung* of the ladder. Not until the critical shortage of teachers aroused widespread alarm did a full realization of and genuine concern for this unfortunate condition stimulate action.

It is not surprising, therefore, that as pressures and attacks on the schools take on threatening qualities teachers as a group respond with timidity rather than with wholesome aggressiveness. While some teachers' organizations and some individuals are in the forefront, interpreting the schools' need to be free to our public, they are a minority. To attribute teachers' fear or hesitancy to ignorance, indifference, or lack of professional zeal is too simple.

Psychologically the teacher has not had opportunities to become identified with schools in which he works. The in-group too often has been the central office staff, administrators, and board of education. Schools to the teacher were *their schools*, not *my schools*. Present practices, where teachers share in planning school policies as well as curriculum changes, will develop this essential feeling of belonging. Would that this had been the case during the last several decades!

The feeling of remoteness on the part of teachers created a corresponding feeling of remoteness to classroom work on the part of administrators. It would be unrealistic to expect an administrator to be able to keep his fingers on the pulse of the classroom in systems where line and staff relations kept teachers and administrators apart with regard to planning in the school. A second effect of such an administrative policy was to dull the sensitivity of educational leadership to conditions which arose to influence teaching in the elementary-school classroom. Pressures for or against manuscript writing, anxiety over pupil promotion policies, protest against a certain textbook or even a certain teacher could not be adequately appraised in light of the whole school's program when administrators did not feel in close touch with that program or communicate freely with teachers who were. Neither could an administrator gauge the effect on teacher morale of such pressures. Honest experiments in cooperative school planning, therefore, will be a boon not only to community growth but to teacher status and to teacher and administrator growth, too.

A Future with New Promises. It is possible in one sense to regard today's pressures on the schools as an ill wind that is blowing some new good. The good resides in the fact that to face the threatening attacks in earnest school workers must learn to work together better than they were able to do before. To face many pressures coming from decent, interested folks will demand more searching and more cooperative study. In short, to maintain good schools educators will have to grow in ways even as yet untried.

A whole realm of new practices—new experiments—lies before us. We can move from our present development of education to a more mature plane if we earnestly seek to resolve our doubts and differences through (1) a critical examination of our goals in relation to the goals of parents and others in our community and nation and then (2) trying to build cooperative efforts in achieving those ends on which we agree and which seem essential.

If we see this as a challenging, long-term responsibility we have the proper spirit with which to begin. If we set as one of our goals the dissolution of the walls that seem to stand between the schools and their public our success will be more assured.

Summary

Current pressures and criticisms affecting American elementary schools have deep roots. Only our increased awareness of such attacks is new. Indeed, in a polyglot nation such as the United States the remarkable thing is that there have been so few tensions and occasional explosions as many disparate elements, in a century and a half, have been thrown together in the crucible of American culture—our traditional melting pot.

Opportunities as well as problems are inherent in the pressures which bear upon elementary education. There is a bright challenge before educators—a challenge better to integrate the personalities of children by bringing home, school, and community (vital influences all in their wholesome development) into a new, closer relationship as educators and other citizens learn to meet criticisms and pressures constructively and strengthen their mutual respect and mutual understanding in the process.

In a critical era the dedicated educator, the teacher dedicated to the idea of a better society for all of the people, is finding a new meaning in the noun *responsibility*. He is finding that his is the duty and responsibility to see that children are growing up as heirs to the spiritual, intellectual, and social heritage of democracy which many pressure groups would seek to pervert or destroy. As the education profession continues to find strength, courage, and improved group processes whereby to meet and defeat the pressure tactics of antieducational groups of the recent past and present, so will the welfare of children be protected and improved. And so will the welfare of *all* of us be improved as we learn through adversity or through justified criticisms how better to live and work together.

REFERENCES

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION, *Academic Freedom and Academic Responsibility*. New York: American Civil Liberties Union, 1952.

CHASE, STUART, *Roads to Agreement*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

COUNTS, GEORGE, *Education and American Civilization*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952.

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION, *Citizens and Educational Policies*, Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1951.

FEDERAL SECURITY AGENCY, OFFICE OF EDUCATION, *Education for Freedom*. Bulletin No. 11, 1948.

HART, JOSEPH, *Education in the Humane Community*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

MILLER, VAN, AND SPALDING, WILLIAM, *The Public Administration of American Schools*, Yonkers: World Book Company, 1952.

SHANE, HAROLD G., AND MCSWAIN, E. T., *Evaluation and the Elementary Curriculum*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1951.

SMITH, B., STANLEY, W., AND SHORES, H., *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development*. Yonkers: World Book Company, 1950.

CHAPTER VI

Changing Interpretations of the Elementary Curriculum[1]

IT IS apparent to everyone that the elementary-school curriculum has changed since 1900. What the changes really are, however, and what they mean, is somewhat less apparent. To many, for example, it is clear that the difference is substantial between a subject, such as arithmetic, and a unit, such as "the farm." But when one visits elementary classrooms, he finds often that both arithmetic and the farm are taught either as subjects or as units. Whether the activity in the classroom should be called a "subject" or a "unit" depends not on the content but on the mode of treatment the class employs.

Educational Purpose and Curriculum Design

At base, the differences among curriculum designs lie in the teacher's assumptions concerning the instructional goals to be achieved. Depending on these, methods of organizing classroom experiences differ. If the teacher seeks information as a major goal, and the three R's as the skills to be developed, then the treatment tends to involve a detailed pre-plan and culminates in evaluation through tests of information and skill development. If, on the other hand, the teacher seeks the development of intellectual independence and skills in problem solving as major goals, then the treatment requires a plan to provoke thinking by the children about the selection and development of the topic or problem to be studied, on the assumption that the detailed plan will evolve as work progresses and that children will profit by participating in the entire process.

But contrasting these broad alternatives according to what goals are sought does not, of itself, lead to an understanding of the differing interpretations of the curriculum they represent. These alternatives have emerged from a century of effort. Each of them represents the attempts of earnest, often brilliant men to make the curriculum correspond to the times as they saw them. To understand the significance of the changing interpretations of the curriculum, therefore, it is essential that we consider the social context, as it appeared to the educators, out of which these interpretations have grown.

---

[1] This chapter was written by Arthur W. Foshay, The Ohio State University.

A BASIS FOR CURRICULUM APPRAISAL. If we are to appraise the curriculums of present-day elementary schools, we would do well to examine present practices in the light of their appropriateness to present-day problems as we see them. Instructional approaches devised to meet problems of another time may or may not be of value in confronting the problems that are taking form today.

We can accomplish more through this kind of analysis than we can by rationalizing the various interpretations of the curriculum along a continuum. Curriculum changes during the past century have a logic of their own which is not described by placing them on a continuum. To do so leads us into useless name-calling: "liberal," "democratic," "traditional," "progressive," and the rest. Words like these have real meaning but it is likely to be obscured when they are contrasted with one another on an arbitrarily constructed continuum. Their real meaning is to be found in the minds of those who employ them; and even deeper meaning is found when one relates the emphases to which they refer to the times out of which they came.

These words become mere meaningless labels, too, when they are misused to describe the curriculum of a particular school.[2] No school curriculum is, or ever was, entirely "progressive," "subject centered," "modern," or "authoritarian." To use these labels to describe a school curriculum is to stereotype the range of views and values held by educators in a given school. This, like any stereotyping, does these people gross injustice. Teachers, like others, are honest, three-dimensional persons. The ways they work reflect their perceptions of the varied educational problems they face.

---

[2] See Ruth Cunningham *et al.*, *Understanding the Group Behavior of Boys and Girls* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951), pp. 24-45: "Five Patterns of Interaction." This is a discussion of the fact that the "patterns of interaction" (a reexamination of the democratic-*laissez-faire*-authoritarian analysis) differ in a single class according to the total situation at a given time. Expert teaching consists (in part) of bringing about a pattern appropriate to the immediate situation, not in consistently using one pattern.

OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTER. The present chapter deals with the changing interpretations of the elementary-school curriculum from the point of view expressed above. Several interpretations of the curriculum are discussed: (1) the subject-centered curriculum of the 1890-1930 period, (2) the child-centered curriculum of the period since 1930, and (3) the child-in-society emphasis of contemporary educational thinking. These interpretations are presented in the context of their own times, the educational thought out of which they arose, and the psychophilosophical ideas which influenced the educators.

Changing interpretations of the curriculum as they actually developed were the responses of educators to educational problems that grew out of changing times. In the section that follows, a number of these problems are named, and the curricular proposals associated with them are discussed. These are the problems that will be discussed:

1. The general establishment of the common school.
2. Developing the "people's college."
3. Developing a universal school, to meet individual differences in need and ability.
4. Developing a school that preserves individual integrity.
5. Developing a school that promotes maximum individual growth.
6. Developing a school for the individual-in-society.

THE GENERAL ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMON SCHOOL

COMMON-SCHOOL ORIGINS. A hundred years ago the educational problem most discussed, and the one to which Horace Mann gave his magnificent talents, was the establishment of a common school. Such a school—tax-supported, open to everyone—had seemed an ideal worth fighting for since the foundation of the republic. Schools of this sort had existed at various times and places throughout our colonial and national history, and by 1850 the idea of the common school had achieved general acceptance.[3]

As the school emerged in the middle of the nineteenth century, the curriculum represented a compromise among powerful groups. As Cremin points out:

---

[3] Lawrence A. Cremin, *The American Common School: An Historic Conception* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951). See especially Part IV, pp. 219-221, "The American Common School: 1850."

> A Common School was a school providing students of diverse backgrounds with a minimum common educational experience, involving the intellectual and moral training necessary to the responsible and intelligent exercise of citizenship. It was careful to avoid in the process those areas which in terms of conscience would prove so emotionally and intellectually divisive as to destroy the school's paramount commitment to universality.
>
> Insight may be gained perhaps from the fact that in most places in the nation, the school still represented only an insignificant aspect of the experience of the young. . . . Teachers were untrained and the curriculum revolved around the three R's.[4]

Hart[5] has pointed out that the education of the young took place as a part of their membership in a nineteenth-century community which was sufficiently integrated as to be a recognizable social entity.

THE COMMON SCHOOL'S RESPONSIBILITY. Since education, real education, was part of the fabric of living in 1850, the curriculum of the elementary school *could actually be the three R's and still meet social needs as they were seen.* What was required was simply that the growing young citizen of the republic be able to read, write, and figure; possessing these tools, there was a rich and rewarding source of functional education all about him, his for the taking.

The basic problem as seen after 1850 was administrative. Agreement having been reached that a common school for everyone was the goal to be achieved, the new institution spread rapidly. Relatively less attention was paid to what ought to be in the curriculum than to the objective problems of housing, finance, and obtaining teachers. Thus De Garmo says in 1895:

> During the past forty or fifty years we have had enough to do in the effort to extend the benefits of education to all the people. Public opinion for universal education had to be developed and formulated into laws. The establishment and perfection of the external machinery for such a system was a work of great magnitude. Houses and implements were to be provided; teachers were to be certificated and paid, and to some extent trained for their specific duties.[6]

---

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 216.

[5] Joseph K. Hart, *Education in the Humane Community* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), Chapter 1, "In the Old-Time Community."

[6] Charles De Garmo, "Introductory Remarks," *The First Yearbook of the Herbart Society for the Scientific Study of Teaching* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1895), p. 3.

DEVELOPING THE "PEOPLE'S COLLEGE"

By the end of the nineteenth century it had become clear that a three R's curriculum per se was insufficient. Urbanization was destroying the education provided by life in the integrated small community. Ordinary people needed increased knowledge to live in their increasingly complex world. Increasing numbers of students were spending six to eight years in school. The elementary school was becoming the "people's college": the basic source of education for the many.

CHANGING TIMES; CHANGING RESPONSIBILITIES. If the curriculum of the elementary school was to furnish a terminal education for almost everybody, it became important that the content of this curriculum be consistent with the newly found aspirations of public educators. The consensus among them seemed to be, "Why not make public education as good as any education we know of?" They turned diligently to surveying the content of the curriculum to see whether the school subjects as then offered constituted a balanced, unified, and wholesome basis for the life of a citizen.

To ask this kind of question was to answer it; obviously (from this point of view) new subjects had to be added to the three R's, and they were. Between 1880 and 1900, "sloyd" (progenitor of woodshop skills), sewing, elementary sciences like physiology and astronomy, the genteel subjects—music, drawing, and so on—were added to the curriculum. Educators immediately faced a problem of selection and organization; it was impossible indefinitely to add on subjects then even as it is now. They had to be placed in relationship to one another, and some choices had to be made among them.

THE PROBLEM OF SCOPE AND SEQUENCE; CIRCA 1900. Even in theory, working out scope and sequence for the curriculum proved a difficult task. The Report of the Committee of Fifteen, which was widely circulated in the nineties, illustrates the kind of conflict between educational values and the practical development of them which has been so frequent since. Consider, for example, this statement of the basic criterion for selecting subject matter as expressed by the Committee of Fifteen:

> . . . The chief consideration to which all others are to be subordinated . . . is this requirement of the civilization to which the child is born, as determining not only what he shall study in school, but what habits and customs he shall be taught in the family before school age arrives as well

> as that he shall acquire a skilled acquaintance with some one of a definite series of trades, professions, or vocations. . . . The relation of the pupil to his civilization determines what political duties he shall assume and what religious faith or spiritual aspirations shall be adopted for the conduct of his life.[7]

Read in the 1950's, this seems a strikingly liberal statement of educational policy. However, the interpretation of the word "civilization" has changed. "Civilization" to the Committee of Fifteen was a static affair, not a dynamic, changing context of living. In the recommended course of study for language, for example, the following cultural diet was recommended for the elementary school:

> Shakespeare's speeches of Brutus and Mark Antony, Hamlet's and Macbeth's soliloquies; Milton's L'Allegro and Il Penseroso; Gray's Elegy; Tennyson's Charge of the Light Brigade and Ode on the Death of the Duke of Wellington; Byron's Waterloo; Irving's Rip Van Winkle; Webster's Reply to Haine, The Trial of Knapp, and Bunker Hill Oration; Scott's Lochinvar, Marmion, and Roderick Dhu; Bryant's Thanatopsis; Longfellow's Psalm of Life, Paul Revere and the Bridge; . . . and other fine prose and poetry from Addison, Emerson, Franklin, the Bible, Hawthorne, Scott, Goldsmith, Wordsworth, Swift, Milton, Cooper, Whittier, Lowell, and the rest.[8]

Merely to read this list is to be conveyed back to the eighth grade of yesteryear, for this is the list that helped to kill a love of literature for millions of elementary-school children from 1890 to 1925.

Note that the idea behind the list—the purpose of the list—was commendable. It was, simply and broadly, that everybody be made acquainted with the civilization in which he was to grow up. The fact that the conception of civilization changed during the forty or fifty years after these literary masterpieces first were forced upon the children is not the fault of the originators of the list.

The idea of the elementary school as a "people's college" was humanitarian and unassailable, when considered in its context. Its application to the school as it existed in the latter half of the nineteenth century probably could not have been other than it was—

---

[7] United States Bureau of Education, chapters from *The Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1893-94. Report of the Committee of Fifteen on Training of Teachers, Correlation of Studies, and Organization of City Systems* (Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1896), p. 490.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 494.

a proliferation of school subjects, with attention to the relative emphasis to be given each subject, to the correlation of the subjects,[9] and to the rationale underlying their selection.

Some of the early plans for schools, notably those suggested by Colonel Francis Parker, by Ziller and his American followers—the culture-epoch plan—had to do with the development of the curriculum around some particular rationale of the nature of civilization. That the school should impart the significant elements of civilization (however civilization was conceived) was not challenged. The school had already broadened its purpose.

DEVELOPING A UNIVERSAL SCHOOL

THE CHALLENGE OF INDIVIDUALITY. As larger and larger numbers of children began to go to school, an old problem was intensified. This was the problem inherent in the fact that the children differed in ability and outlook. For some of them school was a thumping bore. For many of them the tasks as presented were impossible of accomplishment, the significance of their school labors was unknown or seemed trivial, and the entire experience commonly was unpleasant —even brutal under certain circumstances.

Teachers and other educators were well aware of this situation. Characteristically, they met it with a changed ideal: the ideal of a school that would be appropriate for everyone—a school that would not drop a large proportion of the students along the way. What was proposed was, quite simply, a universal school. The scope and difficulty of this ideal did not stop the educators. The idea of the "people's college," when applied, embodied the universal-school idea as an integral part of its structure—and the "people's college" idea was firmly rooted at the turn of the century.

RAPID CHANGE TRANSMUTES EDUCATION. In order to understand more clearly the revolution in education that took place in the years after 1890, it is necessary to consider the times. The educators who dared to uproot and transform the school lived in a time when all sorts of revolutionary changes were taking place and new social needs were being felt.

This was the period of gigantic migration to the United States. It was a period of tremendous optimism, despite the panics of 1893 and 1907 and the growing discouragement and tensions in Europe.

---

[9] See *Report of the Committee of Fifteen*, Section II.

Fin-de-siècle pessimism had little impact in the United States. With the close of the Spanish-American War we became a world power. Everyone felt the expansion. McKinley was followed by Roosevelt; there was still public land in the West; no American doubted for a second that things were fundamentally all right.

Equally important, for educators, with this surge of power in the young country was the series of great discoveries that took place between 1890 and 1914. In retrospect, this appears to have been one of the great periods to have been alive. Basic discoveries flooded one upon another. The exact sciences suddenly came of age. Transportation and communication were revolutionized, as was medicine.

At the same time that these events burst upon the world, the philosophers and the psychologists conducted a revolution. They attacked a mystery as significant as any being solved by pure science in this great period: they explored the basic problem of mental measurement, and reinterpreted the nature of learning.

Like the discoveries in other fields of human knowledge, these had been long a' building. What gave them impact was a confluence of ideas. Both Dewey and James saw pragmatism as a development required by the Darwinian theory. There had to be a philosophy that allowed for tentativeness. The idea of probability, which opened new fields to precise measurement, likewise arose from studies of heredity that grew from Darwinian theory. The impact of the new philosophy and the new psychology led to many attempts to reorganize the subjects of the school curriculum in such a way as to make them appropriate to the children in the schools. The need for experimentation on a broad scale became evident; and the laboratory schools at the University of Chicago and Columbia University were founded. The first of a long series of "plans" was attempted by Preston Search, all of them having in common the objective of fitting the curriculum to the child.

During the entire "people's college" era the curriculum was thought of as a series of subjects. The subjects themselves were the focus of attempts to improve the curriculum. The subjects were altered; some were dropped and others were added; and careful studies were made of the methods for teaching them. The "people's college," with many insightful modifications to fit individual differences, became a reality in most of the United States, and the ideal of a universal school approached realization.

Preserving Individual Integrity

Education Begins to Come of Age. The period between 1900 and 1925 saw the emergence of the science of education. In this period of general optimism the educators, too, were optimistic. They were using for the first time on a broad scale the new means of psychological measurement and the application of the rationale of statistics to social phenomena. This is the period that saw Terman imply (in the 1917 edition of *Measuring Intelligence*) that the newfound I.Q. was the key to the solution of many of the problems of mankind. Through its application, most of our potential leaders could be located in early childhood and given an appropriate education.

The development of the Army Alpha Test and the later group mental tests opened a whole new world to those concerned with individual differences existing among children. The scientific study of the curriculum suggested substantial changes in teaching method and a reordering of subject matter. Studies of economy of time caused educators to focus on the product of educational effort rather than exclusively upon its philosophical justification, and led to a reselection of subjects.

Curriculum Lag. The curriculum in most elementary schools, however, was not radically altered by these activities, all of which accepted the subjects as the primary elements of the curriculum and proposed only that the subjects be changed and improved. The 1911 elementary-school curriculum in Baltimore, Maryland, was representative of the entire period until 1930:

> At present the school time in the grades is divided approximately as follows: reading, 26 percent; arithmetic, 16 percent; language, 12 percent; history, 11 percent; geography, 8 percent; spelling, 7 percent; music, 6 percent; drawing, 6 percent; writing, 4 percent; physiology, 4 percent.
>
> Stated differently, English received 49.2 percent of the school time in the grades; the three R's received 65.2 percent; the fundamentals (the three R's plus geography and history) received 86.1 percent; the special subjects (physiology, music, and drawing) 13.0 percent.[10]

---

[10] Guy M. Wilson, *Connersville Course in Mathematics*, 1911. Republished by Warwick and York, 1922. Quoted in Department of Superintendence, Third Yearbook, *Research in Constructing the Elementary School Curriculum* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1925), p. 42.

THE INTRODUCTION OF ABILITY GROUPING. One consequence of the science of education movement was the emergence of ability grouping, which had its beginnings on a large scale in the schools of Detroit, Michigan, in 1920, and continued to dominate the thinking of many people until the mid-thirties. The millennium seemed just around the corner to the curriculum workers of the mid-twenties. It seemed likely that educational research could determine exactly what the curriculum content should be, at least in its minimum form, and leave to the many curriculum committees then at work in school systems the task, only, of adapting and slightly modifying these minimum essentials to meet local demands. In the Third Yearbook of the Department of Superintendence[11] this was seen as attention to nature and nurture. "Nature" was to be discovered through research. "Nurture" was equivalent to local differences and demands. Nature was everywhere much the same; nurture would differ according to local factors.

Both nature and nurture were to be taken into account in the rationale that suggested ability grouping. It was considered that the nature of some children (i.e., their ability) differed enough from that of other children so that their nurture should also differ:

> *Major principles of curricular differentiations for ability groups.* 1) Methods of teaching and standards of attainment differ for groups of different levels of ability, but there are real possibilities for achievement in any class in the public school. . . . 2) Minimum essentials must be clearly stated for all, but the fundamentals set forth for the lowest group must be included as a part of the material for the highest group. It is important in a democracy that certain information shall be the common heritage of all. . . . 4) Definite standards of attainment must be indicated for all levels. . . . 5) The dull pupil should have extensive opportunity for drill; contrary to the general belief, the slow pupil is not necessarily the accurate thinker.[12]

Ability grouping, then, was yet another attempt to modify the subject curriculum in such a way as to fit everybody into it. For the slowest, there were minimum essentials; for the fastest, there were the minimum essentials plus much more.

PROMOTING MAXIMUM INDIVIDUAL GROWTH

Attempts were made throughout the twenties to fit the subjects to the individual, primarily on the basis of research intended to indicate such generalizations about children as could be supported through careful sampling and measurement.

---

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

[12] *Ibid.*

However, increasing numbers of educators were disturbed at the effect of the science of education movement, with its apparent emphasis on norms and minimum essentials. Whatever its intent, the movement seemed to be having the effect of placing more and more restrictions upon individuality among children. It was as if the purpose of education were to produce fundamentally identical products, as was being done on the factory assembly line.

THE IMPACT OF DEPRESSION AND WAR. As the decade of the twenties came to an end, catastrophe was upon us. The Great Depression struck dramatically and universally, and one world-shaking event after another took place. The period from 1930 until the present must be thought of as a time of challenge and disaster; the behavior of the educators, to be understood, must be placed in the framework of catastrophe familiar since 1930.

Early in the 1930's it seemed that the very foundations of American society were shaken. The economic depression destroyed careers, accelerated the fall in the birth rate, drove farmers from their homes, and in general led to widespread misery. The economic crisis could not be solved by the old expedient of moving to public lands, and the bread lines in the cities grew longer.

Across the seas, the rise of dictatorships clearly ended what had earlier been considered the inevitable spread of democracy and democratic capitalism of the American type. As the decade wore on, the drift toward war became clearer and clearer.

This was a time of widespread anxiety, even pessimism, a period profoundly in contrast to the 1890-1914, 1920-1930 eras discussed earlier. This was a time when even more rapid change was in the air. The old ways had failed to prevent the catastrophe; as a nation, we cast about for new paths.

THE SCHOOLS AND SOCIAL CHANGE. It was in this setting that the educational leaders of the thirties sought to improve the schools. Responding to the need as they saw it, they called for activity and new thinking along two broad lines:

1. The school, like other social institutions, should make a positive contribution to the betterment of our society.

2. The school, in a time of pessimism and accelerating change, should help each individual to function at his own highest level—to develop at whatever was the maximum rate for *him*.

The first of these ideas led to a series of proposals on the level of high educational policy. The famous *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?*[13] was one such. The Educational Policies Commission of the NEA made others. The idea that the schools had a direct responsibility for social reconstruction was reinforced as one looked at the place of schools and youth movements in Germany, Italy, and Japan. By 1944, the Commission on Teacher Education (in *Teachers for Our Times*)[14] stressed the "positive state" and the necessity for a teacher training that would clearly distinguish between objectivity and neutrality. It should be observed that this proposal was controversial when it was first made by certain liberals on the social frontier of education in the early thirties, and that there remain groups and individuals in America who are bitterly opposed to it. Social reconstruction through education is not at this writing, however, the subject of such widespread debate as it was before 1940.

In the schools, the second of the two dominant educational ideas numbered above tended to receive more attention than did the first. The child received more attention than did the social order. This was scarcely surprising, if the educational tendencies of the immediately preceding period are kept in mind.

EMERGING EDUCATIONAL CONCEPTS; CIRCA 1930

Let us review, here, some of the significant educational ideas that by 1930 had been widely discussed and had become generally accepted in principle:

Ideas concerning the role of the school:

1. The elementary school is for everybody—rich and poor, rural and urban, bright and dull, handicapped and normal.
2. The elementary school is to induct children into democratic living. We rely on the school for this task especially in the United States because of our heterogeneous population.
3. The elementary-school curriculum should prepare the child to become part of our civilization as it really is.

Ideas concerning the nature of childhood:

1. Children develop through recognizable sequences, but the developmental pattern differs significantly from child to child.

---

[13] George S. Counts, *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* (New York: The John Day Company, 1932).

[14] Commission on Teacher Education, *Teachers for Our Times* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1944). Cf. pp. 40 ff.

2. Child development can be hindered, but it can't be accelerated. It must be fostered through (among other means) a generally rich, supportive, and sympathetic environment.

Ideas concerning the learning process:

1. Learning takes place through the learner's experience, and a learning experience has an essential integrity. Furthermore, no experience exists by itself; it is colored by the learner's individual past and his individual perception of the future.
2. One implication of the new conception of learning experience is that many approaches to learning must be used.
3. Another implication is that any new learning, to be effective for an individual child, must have a connection with his past that he can recognize. His personal interests and the needs he is aware of will determine in large measure (but not entirely) what he learns from a new experience to which he is exposed.

This listing might be extended considerably. The reader will recognize these ideas as derived from many sources. The ideas concerning the learning process, in particular, are derived mainly from Dewey's statements of the nature of experience. Readers who were educators in the late twenties and early thirties will remember that these ideas and others of their type were widely discussed and accepted at that time.

THE INFLUENCE OF PSYCHIATRY. One other influence of great importance—psychiatry—must be borne in mind to understand the forms the curriculum took in the thirties. This science, developed in the period after 1890, won general acceptance in the thirties. Many of the psychiatrists' insights have been applied to teaching. One example of the sort of influence teaching owes to psychiatry may be found in our thinking about ways to build self-reliance, an old goal of the curriculum. We start, now, from the assumption that the child must feel accepted in order to be independent and self-reliant, and go on from there to plan ways for the teacher to build a feeling of acceptance. This and other insights of psychiatry have become fundamental to our educational thought.

These ideas, and the influence of psychiatry, conjoined with the mounting disaster of the times to suggest that the *individual* should be the focus of curriculum development. The individual had, until 1930, been supported, in a sense, by the general trend of affairs. The economy was expanding steadily, and no fundamental challenge had appeared to the political theory Americans lived by. After 1930, however, the only thing predictable appeared to be change itself—and this remains the case. In the face of this situation, it seemed clear that the citizen of the coming generation would have to be individually adaptable and resourceful as never before. He could no longer rely on the general trend of affairs, as he had. He had to rely on himself, for he was likely to be caught up by forces beyond his control or understanding. Thus the educators were impelled to attend to the development of maximum individual growth, both by the trend of educational thought and by the apparent demands of the times.

Dewey's idea of experience, which is touched on above, had its greatest impact on the curriculum in the period between 1930 and the present. Experience considered as serial, as a process of doing and undergoing, as suggesting the basic nature of learning, is a far more complicated idea than the explanations of learning it supplanted. In the period under consideration here, one implication after another of this idea was formulated into an interpretation of the curriculum. The varying interpretations since 1930 may be thought of as expressions of somewhat different aspects of a single basic idea—that of experience as offered by John Dewey.

THE CHANGING PSYCHOLOGY. Some allusions have been made to the development of mental measurement and the newer explanations of learning that followed Thorndike's great early work. These had their chief influence on the curriculum before 1930. However, to understand the curricular interpretations of the period after 1930 it is necessary to note the influence of another one of the psychologies: the Gestalt theory. This is the theory that stresses the essential wholeness of human perception and behavior. A Gestalt is an organization; the organization itself—the whole pattern of perception—is the entity to be attended to. Whereas earlier psychologies had seemed to place chief emphasis on the elements perceived by a learner (and the implication seemed to be that they should be learned singly, then organized) the implication of Gestalt theory was that learning experience and the learner himself had to be regarded as wholes. Not only did the child learn whole patterns (even when he was apparently learning single elements) but he behaved as a whole toward them.[15]

Gestalt theory led educators, therefore, to stress the unitary nature of experience and the individuality of learning on psychological as well as philosophical grounds. Furthermore, it led them to try to see the child as a whole—and the "whole child, his interests, needs, and abilities" became a watchword.[16]

---

[15] Cf. Chapter III.

POST-1930 INTERPRETATIONS OF THE CURRICULUM

The paragraphs that follow will deal with certain of the curricular emphases and proposals characteristic of the period since 1930. It is not the writer's intent to describe them fully. More elaborate descriptions are given in many places. His intent is to suggest the relationship of these emphases to the ideas they came from, and to note their essential unity. It should be observed that distinctions among these interpretations of the curriculum are difficult to make, since they actually represent relative degrees of emphasis on one aspect or another of the group of ideas mentioned above. The writer, for example, finds it difficult to distinguish between "child-centered" and "needs curriculum," except as the "needs" idea is more elaborate and, in a sense, more explicitly oriented to a psychological analysis of behavior than is the "child-centered" idea.

THE UNIT OF WORK. Though, even now, only a minority of elementary-school teachers actually use units of work, one finds some teachers using this approach in almost any elementary school. The unitary approach to the curriculum is the most widespread in use of the post-1930 curriculum interpretations.

Essentially, the unit of work involves a central theme or problem of some kind. This is used as an organizing principle for the selection and organization of school experience. Ideas and information are drawn from whatever sources are available and relevant; and subordinate ideas are examined as they appear to the students.[17] In classes working on such units, there is a considerable amount of individual work—that is, work which is carried on by only one member of the class. There is also a good deal of small-committee work. There is an emphasis on "multi-dimensional" learning—that is, learning through physical activity, through construction, through dramatic play, through music and art, as well as learning from books. And all of this contrasts favorably with the subject-centered curriculum of the period before 1930.[18]

---

[16] Gestalt theory had a real and discernible impact on the curricular proposals made after 1930, and connectionist theory had had a real and discernible impact before 1930. Both theories continue to be influential. The same cannot be said as yet concerning field theory, or the newly reinterpreted phenomenological theory, both being too recent to have found expression in major curricular proposals.

[17] These emphases are common to several versions of the "unit" idea. During the 1920-1945 period, a series of terms was used to reflect an increasingly broader conception of what unified educative experience could offer. The "project method" was an early form, related somewhat to the "contracts" of the Dalton Plan, though different in that emphasis was placed on method rather than subject matter. For an early description of the project method used experimentally, see Ellsworth Collings, *An Experiment with a Project Curriculum* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923). Kilpatrick's Introduction to this book reflects the most advanced thinking of the time.

The unit of work is an attempt to apply to the curriculum the idea that educative experience is itself of one piece, that learning proceeds on a problem-solving basis, and that themes or problems must be treated as they actually exist, rather than as defined by a subject-matter discipline. The themes or problems undertaken are selected according to their relevance to the lives of the children who are to study them.

This criterion becomes something of a problem to the teacher when he tries to help children understand foreign lands and peoples, as is often required. One attempt to solve the problem is through the "culture unit."

In the thirties, hundreds of plans for "culture units" were published. There was (and of course still is) a great emphasis on primitive cultures, partly because they lend themselves to the "activity" treatment. Rural Mexico, the Chinese farmer, the Holland of tulips and wooden shoes, the wheat farming of the Russian Ukraine, and so on, were selected on the assumption, apparently, that primitive cultures were simpler than modern cultures and therefore easier to understand. The student was supposed to gain the minimum essentials of an understanding of civilization through studying primitive cultures. The fact that these units stereotype and even caricature the countries they deal with has led to some recent objections. Somehow, culture units have not produced the desired results and recently have been sharply criticized.[19]

---

[18] Of course, one finds curriculums of all the types discussed in this chapter when one visits schools today. The writer has never seen a "culture-epoch" curriculum, but it is a safe guess that even this is being taught somewhere in the United States. This discussion is focused upon the thinking of educational leaders during the past hundred years. In the school, as in any other social institution, one finds practices current at any given time which reflect ideas of various periods in the past going all the way back to the beginning of organized society.

[19] Wanda Robertson, *An Evaluation of the Culture Unit* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1950).

Other units introduced had to do with a broad range of human activities, and a conscious attempt was made to relate the implied topics, problems, or themes to the maturity (as indicated by studies of their interests) of the children. Thus, studies of "community helpers" (firemen, postman, policeman, etc.), the farm, transportation, and some community institutions have appeared in the primary grades. Studies of foreign cultures typically have appeared in the intermediate grades of the school. Also, there have been many units dealing with historical subject matter, such as units on pioneer life.

The effect of teaching by use of units of work has been to introduce a vitality and interest in the school experience of elementary-school children which was previously lacking. While skillful teachers have always introduced many kinds of activities into the classroom and have applied a broad variety of educational resources to the tasks at hand, the effect of the widespread use of units of work has been to make this kind of activity acceptable and available to large masses of elementary-school teachers, and to suggest a greater correlation of school experiences.

Generally, the units of work as published (and as actually taught) are organized around predetermined subject matter. The *subject matter* was substantially changed—it is no longer "reading," or "geography" as such—but the *principle* of curriculum organization was not. New predetermined sequences were developed, and new activities were introduced. However, the basis for the organization of the curriculum (the selection and placement of learning experience) remained the same. The new subjects—"The Farm," "Holland," "Community Helpers," "The Westward Movement"—were predetermined by much the same logic that dominated the "science of education" thinking of the twenties.

THE "CHILD-CENTERED" SCHOOL. Some educators turned to the child himself to see what the curriculum should contain. The "child-centered school" is a proposal so named to contrast it with the subject-centered school of the period before 1930. Emphasis was placed as never before on the nature of the growing child as a determinant of the curriculum.

Basic to the child-centered school was the generalization about child development mentioned above—that while development might

---

Miss Robertson's study is criticized by Lavone A. Hanna in "The Curriculum Commentator," *Educational Leadership*, 8:382-384, March, 1951.

be hindered (through some form of deprivation) it cannot be accelerated. If each child was to develop at his maximum rate, and if developmental patterns differed substantially from child to child, it followed that the school should be as flexible as possible, and that the broadest possible variety of experience should be present all the time.

The child-centered school was ridiculed in the popular press, and to many a teacher the idea seemed bound to lead to chaos in the school. The implication seemed to be that all arbitrary standards, all preplanning, and all formal subject matter should be abandoned. They actually were, briefly, in a few scattered classes, but the idea was never really tested. It seemed too impractical.

The concerns that led to it, however, remained to be dealt with. The "needs curriculum" was a further attempt to meet them.

The Needs Curriculum. A needs curriculum is one in which experiences are selected and organized according to the needs of the child. The interpretation rests on an analysis of the basic human needs—the needs for love, security, belongingness, food, etc. These must be met and school experiences should be selected according to the success with which they satisfy them.

The teacher applying this interpretation of the curriculum will emphasize constant appraisal of the interests of the children, for the children's interests are a faithful indication of the needs they are aware of—their *felt* needs. In addition, the teacher will attend to needs the children must meet but are not aware of—their *unfelt* needs. These (largely stemming from the arbitrary requirements of society but also from consideration of certain aspects of the children's future development) the teacher will attempt to bring to the children's attention in such a way as to stimulate interest in them.

The actual classroom activity carried on in a needs curriculum might be a unit, or even a subject. The selection of activity, however, will be based on an analysis of the children's needs.[20]

The Experience Curriculum. The experience curriculum is yet another attempt to apply the ideas described earlier. Whereas the child-centered school had given emphasis to the *child*, and the needs curriculum to a psychological analysis of the *nature of human behavior*, the experience curriculum sought to organize the curriculum like learning experience itself, deriving from a consideration of the *nature of experience* a plan for learning. The experience curriculum would, like experience itself, evolve. It would not, like the child-centered school, rely mainly for its organization on the developing needs of children; it would take these needs into account by developing a rich, exciting classroom life, in which experiences would be allowed to run their course, so to speak.

---

[20] See L. Thomas Hopkins, *Interaction: The Democratic Process* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1941), for further explanation of this interpretation of the curriculum.

The broad assumption underlying the experience curriculum idea is that the major purpose of the school is to teach the process of problem solving, or reflective thinking, and that this is best carried out if school experience offers constant opportunity for the practice of the necessary associated skills. Since Dewey's idea of experience implies that the consequences of one's acts are part of the total of any experience, and that one acts to resolve difficulties ("to solve problems" in the broad sense), then school experience should involve identifying and analyzing problems, attempting their solution, and (most important) forming judgments concerning the adequacy or appropriateness of the results of the actions attempted.

The experience curriculum may be viewed as another attempt to reach the goals sought through the unit of work. Unlike the unit of work, the experience curriculum does not lend itself to extensive preplanning of the content of the curriculum. Even supposing, and it is a safe supposition, that many children will want and should have experiences with modes of transportation, the experience curriculum approach would have the teacher preplanning only the resources to be available to the children, and some of the ways to help them to think about analyzing a general theme ("transportation") into some associated problem (e.g., "How can an airplane fly when its motor is so heavy?"). The teacher will not identify the problems for the children; to do so would deny the children this aspect of the total learning experience. The teacher's task is to provoke thinking on the part of the children and to help them think, not to do it for them.

Closely related to the experience curriculum approach is the current emphasis on cooperative planning. This is an emphasis (not an "approach" or an "interpretation of the curriculum" as used here) on the steps of problem solving. It seeks to make them explicit to the children.[21] Cooperative planning means planning by the whole class and by subgroups or individuals according to assignment from the class. The process itself is stressed, and there is considerable attention given to the skills of group problem solving and cooperative activity.

---

[21] See *The Teacher's Role in Pupil-Teacher Planning*, Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation (New York: Teachers Col-

THE EMERGING CURRICULUM. The emerging curriculum is akin to the experience curriculum. Where the experience curriculum stresses the educative experience and draws much of its organization from a conception of it, the emerging curriculum stresses (in somewhat the way the needs curriculum does) the necessity of drawing the content of the curriculum from the child's world, primarily through helping him to cope with the world as it is. The curriculum "emerges" as a direct consequence of attempts to meet the problems posed by the child's development; it cannot be planned in advance, except as children tend to require similar experiences to meet their developmental needs.

The actual content of the emerging curriculum *might* be similar to the needs curriculum or to the experience curriculum: i.e., all three interpretations center on problems of significance to the children. The teacher who interpreted the curriculum as emerging would, however, put relatively more emphasis on the sequence of experiences, in order *to make certain that what was being done was clearly an extension of what had been done*. At the center of the emerging curriculum idea is the proposition that meaning emerges from experience, and that one experience emerges from another. What comes next in class is determined largely by what has happened. Great stress is placed on the continuity of classroom activity; arbitrary shifts from topic to topic are held to a minimum. The general assumption underlying this interpretation is that only through the kind of continuity in which each classroom activity is required in order better to understand the last is real depth of inquiry possible. Those who stress the emerging curriculum seek inquiry at the most profound level children can attain.

PERSISTENT LIFE SITUATIONS. The basic idea underlying both the experience and the emerging curriculums is that children must learn the skills of problem solving by attempting the solution of problems of immediate significance to them.

Another approach to this same goal, which seeks to emphasize a somewhat more specific content for the curriculum, has recently been

---

lege, Columbia University, 1947). Also see Alice Miel, *Cooperative Procedures in Learning* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952).

offered: the curriculum based on persistent life situations.[22] This proposal is based on analyses both of the child, his needs and nature, and of society. The two analyses lead the authors of the proposal to think of the child growing up in society as facing a series of life situations that present problems he must solve. The life situations of greatest significance are those that persist throughout life, as, for example, do the situations requiring choice of food, getting along with others, and making moral choices. In a brilliant analysis, made with the help of scores of teachers, the authors differentiate more than 100 of these situations, describing the way they appear in childhood, youth, and adult life.

The teacher using the persistent life situations proposal would operate on much the same basis as that suggested by the emerging curriculum. Experiences would not be highly preplanned, and the continuity of experience, leading to the attack on successively more complicated problems, would be emphasized. But the learnings the children made from particular experiences would be somewhat more organized—somewhat less left to chance—than would be true of other similar interpretations of the curriculum. The teacher, with the persistent life situations in mind, would suggest lines of thought and inquiry dealing with these situations. The persistent life situations proposal helps in both the selection of experience (by outlining which of various alternatives the children might suggest has the greatest enduring significance to them) and the development of generalizations to live by (through emphasizing the relevance of in-school experiences to daily living).

This proposal takes into account the sequential nature of experience as emphasized by the emerging curriculum, the needs of the child as emphasized in the needs curriculum, the problem-solving activity of the experience curriculum, and the necessity for childlike subject matter stressed in earlier interpretations of the curriculum. It is quite recent. At present, the persistent life situations proposal appears to be the most comprehensive and most nearly practical of the interpretations made since 1930.

A School for the Individual-in-Society

It has been observed that both the times and the trend of educational thought in the thirties suggested an emphasis on the individual. This emphasis was plain at the time and was criticized in some quarters. Its critics, however, had no better suggestions to offer. By and large, they proposed a return to the scientific subject emphasis of the previous decade.

---

[22] F. B. Stratemeyer, H. L. Forkner, M. G. McKim, *et al.*, *Developing a Curriculum for Modern Living*, Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1947).

However, in more recent times the criticism has been revived somewhat, though for different reasons. Whereas in the thirties the criticism was part of a general resistance to change, in the fifties it is the product of a reappraisal of the demands of the times coupled with some ideas that have gained strength in the past few years. What is needed now is more attention to cooperative work. This is an era that demands our pulling together.

SOME IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIOPOLITICAL CHANGE. It is plain that the times have once more changed. The context in which our schools must be viewed has changed, too. We are in another period of international crisis, and this time it is clear that we would be one of the primary antagonists if war were to come. For the first time in our history, we have to carry the load for half the world in the balance of power.

As one looks at the years ahead, it appears that two world situations will probably continue to dominate our domestic living: (1) the fact of the emergence of the United States and Russia as major antagonistic powers and (2) the growing probability of the emergence of certain Asiatic countries as world powers. Clearly, in addition to the necessity for the United States to carry its own military burden and that of half the world (as Britain did during the nineteenth century) it is also necessary that our relationships with Asia, both militarily and culturally, be completely revised. But to accomplish these things we must have firm internal unity; to be effective in the solution of world problems we must be at peace with one another at home.

SOME SPECIFIC PROBLEMS WITH IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CURRICULUM. In this context we can identify some problems which will ultimately affect the elementary-school curriculum:

1. War and the threat of war.
2. Remaining barriers to social mobility as they relate to equality of opportunity.
3. Intercultural tensions and the problems of prejudice.
4. The increased physical mobility of the American population.
5. Greatly increased urbanization.

6. The new organization of our country and its institutions into big government, big labor, big private industry.
7. The changing character of the middle class.
8. The emergence of the United States as a dominant world power.
9. The changing character of our natural resources.
10. Renewed need for reexamination of the implications of our moral and spiritual values.

These ten concerns are offered as illustrations, not as a comprehensive list of the public problems on the minds of thoughtful Americans. Such a list may be compiled by anyone who will examine the tables of contents of major national magazines for a period of a year, the index of the New York *Times*, the themes around which national educational conventions have taken place since 1946, and the attempts of responsible educators to chart the course that lies ahead. The requirement of the times is that we act as a nation to meet world-wide problems. In order to act as a nation, we must have sufficient unity among ourselves to permit coherence as we face the rest of the world. The ten concerns listed above have to do with certain aspects of the promotion of internal strength to meet external problems.

THE INDIVIDUAL-IN-SOCIETY. To induct children into the society we now live in, we clearly must think of the child, not solely as an individual, but as an individual-in-society. The social behavior of children must assume a larger place in the thinking of educators about the curriculum.

A number of significant studies have influenced the trend toward examination of the child-in-society: the studies of social class, so frequently cited, by Warner, Davis, Lynd, and others; and studies, deriving from field psychology, of classroom climate and group behavior (such as those by Ronald Lippitt, Archibald W. Anderson, and the more recent ones stimulated by the Research Center in Group Dynamics). The assumption underlying the trend toward studies of human relationships is simply that, *if children are helped to have better relationships as children, our society will benefit from better human relationships when they are adults.*

Bernice Baxter's study, *Pupil-Teacher Relationships*,[23] and the more recent study by Ruth Cunningham and associates, *Under-*

---

[23] Bernice Baxter, *Pupil-Teacher Relationships* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941).

standing Group Behavior of Boys and Girls,[24] report on aspects of the child-in-society. The writer is in the process of reporting a cooperative study of the social attitudes of elementary-school boys and girls.[25]

The problems of social class and of intercultural tensions are being studied in many places. A number of major research projects have been undertaken since 1945 which have as their purpose both the discovery of new insights in this complex area and also the improvement of the behavior of specific children. Attempts are being made to examine school practices and materials of instruction with respect to their teachings concerning social class and the differences among people.

The concern of educators for the conservation of natural resources—a recurring theme at least since the days of Theodore Roosevelt—is likely to change in the period immediately ahead. The discovery of new sources of energy suggests that our concern with natural resources will include, along with ways to encourage their best use, study of the changing nature of these resources. Except for pamphlets dealing with the threat of the atomic bomb, relatively little attention has so far been given to this matter by educators. Basic to the use of the new developments, however, is the cooperative effort of many people. Major sources of energy nowadays cannot be tapped by individuals. It takes groups working together.

Urbanization, too, has changed in character. Migration to the cities has been a major sociological trend for over fifty years, and the trend has been hastened by each of the wars. An associated phenomenon has received less attention than seems needed. Little attention has been paid by educators to the development of the suburbs. Little or nothing is available for teaching concerning such changes as the decay at the heart, sociologically speaking, of our great cities. Coincident with a migration of the rural population to the towns and cities has been a migration of big-city population to the suburbs. Only the very rich and the very poor tend to live at the heart of our largest cities; the middle class tends to live outside of the cities, in the suburbs, and in small country towns. The problem of the development of an appropriate elementary-school curriculum for the skewed populations of our biggest cities has not yet been given the major attention it deserves. Meanwhile, subcultures develop in the cities, unguided and largely unexamined by educators. Again, this is a group problem.

---

[24] Ruth Cunningham *et al.,Understanding the Group Behavior of Boys and Girls* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951). A preliminary report on the study.

[25] A. W. Foshay, "The Teacher and Children's Social Attitudes," *Teachers College Record,* 52:287-296, February, 1951.

Neither, for that matter, has the fact of war in its various forms received appropriate consideration in the planning of the elementary-school curriculum. Perhaps such consideration cannot yet be given. At this writing there is little evidence that the whole population itself has accepted war as a fact. One implication of it, however, is clear. It will not do to view childhood as a period of primarily individual development. The world of the elementary-school child, because of mass mediums of communication, commonly includes considerable concern with national and international tensions. The conversation of little children is full of it. The same thing is true of the facts of social class, as shown by Celia Burns Stendler.[26]

In the years ahead, then, it seems clear that the curriculum will continue to require reinterpretation. The emphases of the thirties, having to do primarily with the growth of individuals, will be supplemented with increasing attention to the growth of the child-in-society. Studies of the development of social awareness of children will continue, and curriculum proposals will respond to them.

SUMMARY

In this chapter the elementary-school curriculum has been discussed primarily from a historical point of view since it was the conviction of the writer that the various curricular patterns are best understood in the context of the broad social concerns they were invented to meet. Three major periods have been identified: (1) 1890 to 1930, the period of the subject-centered curriculum, with the scientific study of subject matter and the subject-matter needs of growing children; (2) 1930 to the recent past, a period during which interpretations of the curriculum have been centered on the development of the individual child; and (3) the present and immediate future, a period of increasing concern for the individual child-in-society.

The continuum most explanatory of changing curricular emphases, in the writer's opinion, is a continuum of social problems seen through time. When one finds an elementary school attempting to develop a "needs" curriculum in which the needs were defined exclusively on the basis of the studies of individuals and their behavior, one concludes that the designers of the curriculum are acting on the problems most prominent in the thirties. When one finds a curriculum that can be described adequately by a time schedule of subjects, one knows that the designer of the curriculum is acting on the problems most prominent in the twenties.

---

[26] Celia B. Stendler, *Children of Brasstown* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949).

So viewed, it is possible to appraise the elementary curriculum by thinking of the problems which can be solved by the practices used and contrasting these with the problems of the present which require solution and appropriate curriculum practices. This appraisal does not imply a shallow approach which would have the curriculum examined only according to its supposed "up-to-dateness." Neither does it suggest invidious comparisons between modern and traditional, or new and old. *It does, however, suggest the importance of a realistic examination of contemporary life in our communities, so that the needs of contemporary society can be brought to bear upon the school curriculum.* The idea of bringing the needs of society to bear on the elementary curriculum is far from new. Indeed, this is one of the best of the old ideas. A survey of the history of curriculum thinking suggests that the idea never has been adequately implemented since the beginning. What is required is still that each generation survey its context and reappraise the elementary-school curriculum in the light of contemporary need.

In the last analysis, problems to be solved in the elementary curriculum have to do with helping children to live in a world where rapid transition makes even the old problems look new. Our real curricular problems have to do with ends. The means are essential—units, projects, individual mental health, and the rest—but the end is what we tend to lose sight of: the development of children who can act with others effectively to deal with change and successive crises.

The great task facing American children is that they learn to make order out of chaos. And to do this, so far as temporal affairs are concerned, they must rely on their own ability to get along with others and to attack life's problems intelligently.

REFERENCES

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, COMMISSION ON TEACHER EDUCATION, *Teachers for Our Times*. Washington, D.C.: The Council, 1944.

BAXTER, BERNICE, *Pupil-Teacher Relationships*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941.

COUNTS, GEORGE S., *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* New York: The John Day Company, 1932.

CREMIN, LAWRENCE A., *The American Common School: An Historic Conception*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951.

CUNNINGHAM, RUTH, ET AL., *Understanding the Group Behavior of Boys and Girls*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951.

DEGARMO, CHARLES, "Introductory Remarks," *First Yearbook of the Herbart Society for the Scientific Study of Teaching*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1895.

DEPARTMENT OF SUPERINTENDENCE, Third Yearbook, *Research in Constructing the Elementary Curriculum*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1925.

FOSHAY, A. W., "The Teacher and Children's Social Attitudes," *Teachers College Record*, 52:287-296, February, 1951.

HANNA, LAVONE A., "The Curriculum Commentator," *Educational Leadership*, 8:382-384, March, 1951.

HART, JOSEPH K., *Education in the Humane Community*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

HOPKINS, L. THOMAS, *Interaction: The Democratic Process*. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1941.

HORACE MANN-LINCOLN INSTITUTE OF SCHOOL EXPERIMENTATION, *The Teachers Role in Pupil-Teacher Planning*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1947.

MIEL, ALICE, *Cooperative Procedures in Learning*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952.

ROBERTSON, WANDA, *An Evaluation of the Culture Unit*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1950.

STENDLER, CELIA B., *Children of Brasstown*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949.

STRATEMEYER, FLORENCE B., ET AL., *Developing a Curriculum for Modern Living*, Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1947.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION, *The Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1893-94*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1896.

CHAPTER VII

Leadership in Elementary Education[1]

THE elements that are influencing present practices in American elementary education must continue to depend upon educational leadership for direction and effectiveness. Elementary schools of today are, in no small degree, the result of leadership in the past. The growth in number and size of schools and the material aspects of school buildings can be attributed to population increases as well as to social, economic, and political forces and trends; *but the qualitative aspect of educational development can be attributed largely to leadership.*

For more than three hundred years the elementary school has striven to establish itself on the basis of its own merit. Although its curriculum has tried to recognize societal changes and needs, its concept of leadership is still influenced too much by the authoritarian patterns of past cultures. Education can go forward only to the extent that it is provided with a quality of leadership compatible with the purposes and values it seeks to foster. For, just as the curriculum is a mirror of educational goals, so must it also reflect the nature of its planners.

Throughout the evolution of the American educational system, revision of policies and practices has inevitably followed in the wake of critical analyses of the need for change. This chapter is concerned with the brief examination of some of the stages of development through which educational leadership has passed and with its promise for the future.

LEADERS DURING PIONEER YEARS

Elementary education today owes much to the vigorous and tireless efforts of men of vision during the elementary school's pioneer years in this country. For purposes of the present discussion the "pioneer years" are defined as the years prior to 1900. To identify and give appropriate credit to all the leaders during these pioneer years would mean a virtual recapitulation of the history of education in the United States. Such a complete account would be out of place in this yearbook, but it would be equally amiss to discuss leadership in elementary education without recognizing the fact that elementary education in this country has had its leaders from the first and that its early leaders laid the foundations upon which later workers built the effective schools of today.

---

[1] This chapter was written by Henry J. Otto, The University of Texas, and William M. Hadley, Superintendent of Schools, Alice, Texas.

Educational progress usually occurs simultaneously along several fronts. Among the pioneer leaders were those whose main contributions were in the general area of school administration; others made their vision felt in the field of method; still others provided new ideas and materials in the area of curriculum and textbooks. In the first category one's attention is drawn to such men as Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, John D. Philbrick, and William T. Harris. As Secretary of the State Board of Education in Massachusetts, Horace Mann exercised leadership in all aspects of education. Among his many contributions was his leadership in school administration. In the latter realm he is best known for his efforts in making the public schools nonsectarian, in stimulating local school boards to improve their administration of schools, in advocating and partially effecting the adoption of better teaching methods, and in developing and publicizing teacher training in institutes and normal schools.

EARLY LEADERS IN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION. Henry Barnard served with distinction as the chief state school officer in Connecticut and Rhode Island, laying the foundations for state school systems in both of these states. His greatest contribution, however, was his scholarship. For over thirty years he edited the *American Journal of Education*, perhaps the most important educational periodical ever published in the United States. Barnard collected and disseminated a wealth of information about education in Europe and America.

Philbrick is remembered largely for his contribution to the development of the graded school. He is credited with creating the next step in organizational design which brought the graded single-teacher-per-class plan out of its progenitors. The graded plan, accompanied by a building design appropriate to its full expression, was first applied in 1847 in the Quincy Grammar School in Boston. Philbrick's chief contribution, therefore, was the development of a type of school architecture peculiarly adapted to the organization of a graded school. This, probably more than any other influence, stimulated the rapid spread of the graded school between 1850 and 1870.

As with the others, William T. Harris gave leadership in so many ways that it is difficult to pinpoint his chief contributions to elementary education. He was a great educational philosopher and exercised his influence through his reports as Superintendent of Schools in St. Louis, through active participation in national professional organizations, and through his work as United States Commissioner of Education. One of his greatest contributions was his leadership in establishing the public school as an accepted political institution and as an instrument for effecting American public policy.

PIONEERS IN METHOD. Child psychology and methods of teaching were among the topics given attention by early leaders. Outstanding among them were Horace Mann, Edward A. Sheldon, Col. Francis W. Parker, Charles A. McMurry, Frank McMurry, Charles De Garmo, and G. Stanley Hall. Sheldon, who had been interested in Pestalozzian ideas and methods for several years, took the occasion of his appointment as Superintendent of Schools in Oswego, New York, in 1853, as an opportunity to reorganize the schools of that community and to inaugurate better methods of teaching. Himself a careful student familiar with the pedagogical literature, he wrote a new course of study which eliminated much of the textbook memorization then accepted. Through the introduction of Pestalozzian-type object lessons he gave impetus to the study of local geography, the study of the learning process, and the unit method of curriculum organization.

LEADERS IN CURRICULUM CHANGE. Col. Francis W. Parker and William T. Harris were probably the two most influential Americans in the reorganization and redirection of elementary education between 1860 and 1900. After spending three years in study in Germany, Parker was Superintendent of Schools in Quincy, Massachusetts, from 1875 to 1880, and from 1883 to 1889 he was principal of the Cook County Normal School in Chicago. It was he who introduced into this country the Pestalozzian-Ritter methods of teaching geography, the plan of concentration of instruction about a central theme, the principle of self-expression as the best way to develop the thinking process, the idea that science was of fundamental importance in the child's education, and the principle that educational problems must be seen from the standpoint of the child. Parker and G. Stanley Hall share honors as early beginners in the child-study movement.

The introduction of Herbartian ideas into this country had its real beginning when Charles De Garmo, in 1889, published his *Essentials of Methods*. Then, in 1892, Charles A. McMurry published his *General Method*, and in 1897 his brother, Frank, published his *Method in the Recitation*. These three books had tremendous influence in popularizing Herbartian ideas in the United States. It was out of the Herbartian influence that we received new conceptions as to the teaching of history and literature, the introduction of history teaching in all the elementary grades, the emphasis upon a social point of view in teaching history and geography, a new type of emphasis upon the moral aim in instruction, a new and truer educational psychology, and better techniques of classroom instruction.

Textbooks play an important role in instruction in this country. The preparation of textbooks by American authors made unusual contributions toward the improvement of elementary education. Noah Webster's "blue-backed" *American Spelling Book*, a combined speller and reader published in 1783, was the first elementary-school text to be published by an American author. This first distinctively American textbook became extremely popular and retained its popularity for more than a century, having sold eighty million copies by 1880. The publication of Webster's *Speller* was followed by many other spellers and readers, the most famous of which was Webster's *An American Selection* or *Third Part*. Caleb Bingham's *American Preceptor* (1794) and *Columbian Orator* (1806) were other successful early books for teaching reading. Better known than these to the older citizens of today are McGuffey's readers, the first two books in the series having been published in 1836. By 1841 the series had been enlarged to include five volumes; a sixth reader was issued about 1851. For sixty years, three generations, the *McGuffey Readers* were the most widely used reading books. The work of William H. McGuffey probably represents the most remarkable series of graded readers ever published.

In the field of arithmetic homage must be paid to Warren Colburn's *First Lessons in Arithmetic on the Plan of Pestalozzi* (1821), which contained hundreds of simple problems to be solved mentally and thereby gave great stimulation to mental arithmetic and helped arithmetic to become one of the great subjects of the common schools. Equally significant among the early publications were Jedediah Morse's *Elements of Geography* (1795), William C. Woodbridge's *Rudiments of Geography* (1821), and Samuel Goodrich's *A History of the United States* (1822).

Although the preceding paragraphs give but a hurried glimpse of a few of the pioneer leaders and their contributions, one cannot think of these men and their many associates without getting a thrill about the imprint left upon the history of man by those who have given a lifetime of devotion to the cause of elementary education. The leadership of our forefathers should motivate each of us to assume our share of responsibility for improving the elementary education of the future.

Evolution of Status Leadership

As the cities in the United States entered into an era of rapid development about 1830, there came a corresponding increase in school enrollments. An awakening citizenry was beginning to voice its demands for the education of all of its children. Various expedients were used to meet these demands. Assistant teachers were added; the Lancastrian or monitorial system flourished; additional rooms and teachers were added to the initial school unit; large schools were divided into primary, intermediate, and grammar departments, each in charge of a teacher; and finally these departments were broken down into classes and grades.[2]

The Rise of the Superintendency. The grading of schools and other expedients resulting from the rapid increase in pupil population soon made it evident that the school trustees could no longer continue effectively their inspectoral functions of the past. So the practice was instituted of employing some person, usually a minister or a merchant, who could spend a few hours a week visiting schools and reporting to the board. In 1837, Buffalo became the first city to establish such a plan. Other cities rapidly adopted the plan during the next quarter of a century.

A recent yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators makes the following comment concerning the early development of the superintendency:

> . . . The early superintendency failed to receive enthusiastic applause from its public. Having found the job of school supervision impossible thru their own combined efforts, boards expressed doubt that any single person could perform all the duties even if he did nothing else.[3]

---

[2] Bess Goodykoontz and Jessie A. Lane, *The Elementary School Principalship* (Washington, D.C.: Office of Education, Bulletin No. 8, 1938), p. 2.

[3] American Association of School Administrators, *The American School Superintendency* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1952), p. 52.

The early superintendents soon found that the doubts concerning their ability to perform all the duties assigned to them were based upon fact as well as resentment of their growing authority. This realization soon manifested itself in providing the "head" or "principal" teachers with released time from their teaching duties in order that they could assume supervisory responsibility.

Before the end of the nineteenth century the public-school superintendent was beginning to attain the professional status which the position merits. The superintendent had established his claim to an important place in educational leadership.

The influence of business and military methods began to affect the role of the superintendent early in the twentieth century. One obvious result was the widespread adoption of the line-and-staff pattern of public-school administration. In some systems this pattern was adapted to the needs of the schools and the communities which they served, but in other cases the school program was modified to fit the established administrative plan.

After a century of growth and development, public-school administration is emphasizing services which are imperative to a balanced educational program. Certainly, the most important service which the superintendent can provide is in the improvement of instruction.

The present stage of the development of the superintendency is aptly phrased in the Thirtieth Yearbook of the American Association of School Administrators:

> The evolution of the superintendency is not complete. It never will be complete in a free and changing society as long as the schools remain free and decentralized. What new form it will take, what new technics and philosophies it will develop in the next 100 years, depend upon the hard facts of history yet unwritten, upon the functions which are assigned to public schools, but most of all perhaps upon the professional vision, enterprise, statesmanship, and courage of individuals who will comprise the generations of superintendents still to come.[4]

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALSHIP. The elementary principalship preceded the superintendency as an educational position but lagged far behind it in acquiring both prestige and significant supervisory functions. One of the chief reasons for the rise of the superintendency and the advancement of the elementary principalship was the grading of schools. Accelerated enrollment of pupils was another contributing factor. Courses of study were being developed on a graded basis, and it was believed that someone should be responsible for coordinating the work and securing continuity in the various grades. Thus began an era in which "the individual who merely met emergencies as they arose in the local school was no longer entirely satisfactory."[5]

---

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

Only a little of the historical development of the elementary principalship can be reviewed here. In the colonial period it was a common practice to operate a reading school and a writing school under different teachers. This dual-type school had its origin in Boston in 1740. The grammar masters, who taught reading, grammar, geography, and other subjects, were expected to share the school with the writing master. Children usually spent a half-day with each. This divided authority naturally hindered the development of local school administration. Unfortunately, such a situation continued to exist for more than one hundred years.[6]

The Lancastrian system with its numerous monitors, the "double-headed" schools, and other innovations were rapidly disappearing by the middle of the nineteenth century. Their influence lingered on, however, as both the organization of instruction and the physical design of buildings had been developed around such plans.

The rise of teacher-training institutions gave new importance to the elementary principalship. Slowly but surely teaching came to be recognized as a profession which requires professional training. Course offerings in administration and supervision began to increase, and as principals became better trained they began to assume the responsibilities for which they felt qualified.

Elementary-school principals have faced great challenges in the past. Many principals recognized these as opportunities and accepted them as responsibilities. Greater tasks lie ahead for those who will carry on the role of leadership. A recent yearbook of the Department of Elementary School Principals of the National Education Association points out that this is a strategic time in elementary-school administration:

> Today the elementary school principal stands between two distinctly different periods of development. Behind him lies the struggle of an

[5] Paul B. Jacobson and William C. Reavis, *Duties of School Principals* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1941), p. 732.

[6] Paul R. Pierce, *The Origin and Development of the Public School Principalship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), p. 8.

> emerging professional group which had to demonstrate its ability to contribute imagination and direction to elementary education. Ahead is an opportunity for mature professional leadership in which, during an era of unparalleled crisis and opportunity, school programs will be better adapted to human needs.[7]

To seek, acquire, and help develop such leadership should be the aim of all those charged with the responsibility of furthering elementary education.

THE BROADENING SCOPE OF ADMINISTRATION. Toward the latter part of the nineteenth century elementary schools received critical examination in the light of the growing complexity of their functions. The increased demand for public education and the enforcement of compulsory attendance laws added to the difficulty of providing teachers, buildings, and equipment for the growing school population. Furthermore, the rather formal and limited curriculum of the early elementary schools was undergoing constant liberalization and additions. The situation thus became more difficult for school principals, many of whom had come into their positions through the traditional route of demonstrating superior teaching ability but who were lacking in training or experience to help them meet this additional problem.[8]

An attempt to meet this difficult situation led to a period in which many superintendents were given assistants. These staff members were either assistant superintendents especially assigned the duties of supervising instruction or a force of supervisors working from the central office. This development raised a tremendous issue in educational leadership that is not yet solved. Henry J. Otto, in a discussion of the era, said:

> Once the administrative machinery for supervision had developed . . . it became entrenched—like other established practices—and was difficult to alter, even though weaknesses, maladjustments, and overlapping functions were recognized. It is little wonder, then, that it was not until relatively recent years that the elementary-school principalship has been recognized as a key position in the administration of the schools and has been assigned the major administrative and supervisory functions for which it is so strategically situated.[9]

---

[7] National Education Association, *The Elementary School Principalship—Today and Tomorrow* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Elementary School Principals, 27th Yearbook, 1948), p. 9.

[8] Goodykoontz and Lane, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[9] Henry J. Otto, *Elementary School Organization and Administration* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1944), p. 542.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUPERVISION. By the latter part of the nineteenth century a new concept of supervision was beginning to supplant that of inspection. Supervision was conceived of not only as a means to evaluate instruction but also as a procedure for the improvement of instruction. The acceptance of this point of view resulted in a cleavage between supervision and administration. The responsibility for improving instruction became a supervisory function. Unfortunately, this concept still persists in the minds and actions of many educators even after nearly a century of evidence has demanded their integration. Otto expresses this need for integration of educational effort as follows:

> Organization for professional leadership must cut across all the aspects of educational enterprise which must be responsive to changing circumstances. The administrative, supervisory, and leadership functions should not be separated; effective use of available resources demands their integration.[10]

Although still aimed at the improvement of instruction, supervision began in the early part of the twentieth century to employ a variety of new ways of working that were concomitants of the scientific-measurement movement. With the knowledge gained through the use of standardized tests, equated groups, and other devices, supervisors believed they could get an accurate measurement of the effectiveness of both teaching and learning.

The influence of the scientific movement as a constructive force in supervision probably has been underestimated. The efforts to standardize teaching and learning brought about an era of experimentation in which supervision developed intimate contacts with teachers. A deeper understanding of teachers and teaching began to reveal that leadership and creativity are found at all levels and in all persons.

These wider interpretations presented a new problem to administrators and supervisors. An educational crossroads was definitely at hand, and they were not sure of the direction that supervision should take. Brubacher describes the problem as follows:

> Principals, superintendents, and supervisors were constantly presented with the problem of whether to give the teacher a considerable measure of freedom to work out his own pedagogical salvation or to use their authority to press for the realization of the educational program of the central administration. Perhaps, on the whole, down to the First World

---

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 297.

War supervision inclined toward the latter technique, for, soon after the conclusion of the war to make the world safe for democracy, there was considerable clamor for the democratization of supervision.[11]

Early attempts at the democratization of supervision proceeded primarily in terms of a desire to utilize techniques inherent in good human relations rather than from a deep understanding of the relationship between supervisory practices and the purpose of education in a democracy. As such an understanding has grown during the past quarter of a century, supervision has emerged as an educational service that has drawn its purposes and procedures from those that underlie the democracy in which we live.

Belser,[12] stressing the need for such a governing philosophy of supervision, contends that only as deeper understandings of the purposes of education in a democracy are developed can supervision become a cooperative educational service that will have as its purpose the stimulation and integration of educational efforts.

DEMOCRATIC VALUES IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Democratization of leadership practices is definitely emerging, although a large number of school systems are still operating under an authoritarian type of leadership. It is probable that John Dewey has influenced this transition more than has any other individual.

At the turn of the century, Dewey, along with Francis Parker and others, became concerned with the formulation of democratic concepts for education. From their efforts, and the efforts of those who have shared the same concern, has come a philosophy on which is being built an education better adapted to human needs. In reviewing the changes that have been brought about in education by the beliefs underlying such a philosophy, Caswell and Foshay state:

> The selective conception of the European system was firmly rejected, and education adapted to the needs of all was planned; a passive, verbal conception of learning was replaced by a view of education as a matter of growth arising from the activity of the individual; the capacities and potentialities of the child were seen to be quite as important in education as the subject matter dealt with—such were the changes that occurred.[13]

---

[11] John S. Brubacher, *A History of the Problems of Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1947), pp. 592-593.

[12] Danylu Belser, "Changing Concepts of School Supervision," *Educational Method*, 22:260, March, 1943.

[13] H. L. Caswell and A. W. Foshay, *Education in the Elementary School* (New York: American Book Company, 1950), p. 1.

With such a change in educational philosophy, it is inevitable that educational leadership must be redirected to interpret the philosophy and translate it into action.

Before attempting to determine the type of leadership that is already so urgently needed in the elementary schools, it is necessary to examine the changes that have occurred as a result of the critical evaluation of the functions of leadership.

CHANGING CONCEPTS OF EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP. Two conflicting theories of leadership have been prevalent in educational thought. Leadership by the "elite," the older and dominant of the two, derives its impetus from past ages in which man's search for security necessitated that he accept leadership of this nature. The other, "emerging leadership," is a result of the evolving nature of a democratic society and is primarily a product of the twentieth century. Although basically in conflict, these two theories are in no sense discrete ones.

The transition from the authoritarian to the emerging concept has produced a third which is a fusion of the other two. This may well be called "reflected" leadership, which is more of a way of working than a theory. For the purpose of this discussion, it is sufficient to point out that "reflected" leadership is the product of a generation of "educational engineers" who have wanted to retain the authority and prestige inherent in elite leadership while utilizing the techniques of emerging leadership.

An examination of the sources from which these concepts have become, or are becoming, theories of leadership provides an insight into the development of American education.

LEADERSHIP BY THE ELITE. Our educational system inherited the European conception of government and business. The natural result was an authoritarian type of leadership for education. Apparently, the conflict of such leadership with the basic principles underlying our democratic government was not clear to any appreciable number of educators until fairly recently. In the words of the Educational Policies Commission, "once created and systematized, any program of educational thought and practice takes on professional and institutional stereotypes, and tends to outlast even profound changes in the society in which it assumed its original shape."[14]

---

[14] Educational Policies Commission, *Policies for Education in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1946), p. 5.

The stereotype of the authoritarian leader is well known in education. We have all been, or are, intimately acquainted with him in some role. Typical authoritarian expressions are *my* school, *my* teachers, and *my* program. In other words, all aspects of administration, supervision, and instruction are so organized that they can be controlled by one individual who is in a position to exercise authority.

EMERGING LEADERSHIP. Emerging leadership is based upon the belief that leadership resides in social situations, rather than in individuals. It conceives of leadership as a function carried on through persons operating in a variety of roles. While it does not deny that certain human qualities and competencies further leadership, it considers them primarily as vehicles necessary to the ongoing process of education.

Gibb, in a recent study of the principles and traits of leadership, concludes:

> Leadership is not a quality which a man possesses; it is an interactional function of the personality and of the social situation. A leader is a member of a group on whom the group confers a certain status, and leadership describes the role by which the duties of this status are fulfilled. The effectiveness of the role depends upon the functional relation between the individual attributes of the man and the specific goal of the group at any moment. It is natural that some individual attributes of skill and personality will be generally effective though they will not confer upon their possessor universal leadership status.[15]

Such a concept of leadership, then, recognizes that we in education must develop ways of working where ". . . individual talents and tools are . . . prized as assets of the group, and are not claims to the individual's distinction from the group."[16]

DEMOCRATIC LEADERSHIP: A COOPERATIVE EDUCATIONAL SERVICE. If leadership is to provide to education the service that it is capable of supplying, we must clarify our thinking concerning its proper role. The authoritarian concept of leadership has been rejected in thinking, if not in the actions, of the majority of educators. The idea of emerging leadership is not yet sufficiently clear to carry many of us beyond the "talking stage" in developing ways of working that will cultivate and release the creative efforts of the group. Benné, stressing the need for functional leadership, presents a caution to educators:

---

[15] C. A. Gibb, "The Principles and Traits of Leadership," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 42:284, July, 1947.

[16] Howard Lane, *Group Planning in Education* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1945), p. 6.

> . . . Two dangerous and all too prevalent myths about leadership must be excluded from our thinking. One is the myth that we must wait for nature to give us our leaders—a person is just "naturally" born to be a leader or he is not. The other has it that social situations automatically produce the leadership which they require. It is important that we see "leadership" in terms of functions to be performed in helping groups to grow and to operate productively, not in terms of qualities inherent in certain persons.[17]

The National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration recently devoted its annual meeting to a study of the nature and technique of educational leadership. This conference concluded that the term *leadership* always describes a relation between persons and is always accomplished in relation to others. Such a definition, however, is not necessarily in harmony with the tenets of democracy unless the procedures utilized in such a relationship are democratic in nature. The conference stated this point of view as follows:

> The "leading" person may use force—real or implied—to get such common direction; in this case followership is involuntary. The "leading" person may use delusion; followership is ignorant. The "leading" person may use his position or his personal attractiveness alone; followership is blind. These types are effective in achieving some ends, but they are neither safe nor genuinely productive.
>
> Leadership described in these terms is not what we want for education. It has no referents; we cannot know where it is headed. It might upgrade; but also it might destroy. All it provides for is that persons shall be headed for the same place. It says nothing about *what* place. Therefore, we have to introduce a modifier. That modifier is the term "democratic."[18]

Democratic leadership is not a vague connotation implying that "what is everybody's business is nobody's business." Neither does it imply that "status" leadership and "shared" leadership are in conflict. In democratic practices, two leadership roles are not only possible but necessary for the development of effective educational programs. It is imperative, however, that we clarify the functions of each if we are to make the optimum progress which is called for in democratic leadership.

---

[17] Kenneth D. Benné, "Leaders Are Made, Not Born," *Childhood Education*, 24:202, January, 1948.

[18] *Educational Leaders—Their Function and Preparation*, Report of the Second Work Conference, National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, New York, 1948, p. 5.

Status leadership may result from the placing of certain responsibility upon an individual because of special preparation or outstanding qualities and competencies. Whether this function is placed by some institutionalized authority or emerges from the group, it makes little difference in the manner in which the leader fulfills his responsibility. Miel[19] lists four major functions that are appropriate for status leaders: (1) improving the human relations within the group; (2) furnishing expertness along certain lines; (3) generating leadership in others; and (4) coordinating the efforts of others.

The accomplishment of these functions can best be brought about when status leadership is primarily a helping process in which constructive leadership is provided all group members so that each may contribute to the advancement of the group to more significant services and accomplishment. The way in which status leadership can best carry out these functions is by helping the group members to:

—discover group goals sufficiently vital so that they will call forth a maximum of cooperative effort.
—set up a system of values enabling the group to define, select, or choose the needs and interests of first priority.
—instill in others a desire to "belong" and to take active part in group action.
—discover their skills, competencies, interests, and abilities so that each, while taking part in group processes, may gain the maximum security which results from each having a part to play and a contribution to make.
—develop good human relationships and satisfactory personal interactions so that a cooperative, permissive atmosphere characterizes group functioning.[20]

Shared leadership may be thought of in ways other than as an emerging feature of group thinking. It also carries the implication that individuals and small groups may be responsible for carrying out and evaluating plans and policies formulated by the group. This concept does not replace the executive function of the status leader, but instead calls upon him for a higher type of leadership in securing such action.

---

[19] Alice Miel, *Changing the Curriculum—A Social Process* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1946), p. 159.

[20] Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, *Group Processes in Supervision* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1948), p. 59.

Shared leadership develops to the point of effectiveness when it operates within an atmosphere of trust and confidence. The belief that everyone has leadership potentialities is a basic principle governing the concept of shared leadership. This principle is stated by Koopman, Miel, and Misner as follows:

> Leadership should be the function of every teacher in a school. Each teacher should be regarded as having within himself a potentiality both for leadership and for service tending to express itself alternately and concurrently as the situation may indicate. The atmosphere of the democratic school should be such as to encourage the teacher to exert leadership confidently and as needed. Only such leadership, expressed in this way, is democratic and creative.[21]

If this concept of leadership is to result in a program of education that reflects democratic ideals, we must give more attention to the adequacy of the process by which the creative efforts of the group may be released and utilized to the fullest extent. The wide range of interpretations concerning the group process is alarming. Various techniques, all claiming the respectability of democracy, have become virtually synonymous with the group process. The indiscriminate application of such techniques without thought of the situation in which they will operate may block future group action. Miel again states that:

> The process employed by any group of persons to achieve given ends must be developed out of the situation in which the group is working. The nature of the group must be taken into account. The purposes which the group wishes to achieve must be considered. The means at the disposal of the group and the obstacles faced must figure in the selection of process at every step. In short, there is no standard process in which one can put trust. Creativity is called for at all points. An adequate process is built to suit the situation and the purposes of the group.[22]

In the most realistic operation of human relations everyone is a leader. Democratic leadership, and the process by which it develops, is an expression of the rights and capabilities of all who are concerned with a problem or situation. This is leadership at its best.

---

[21] G. R. Koopman, Alice Miel, and Paul J. Misner, *Democracy in School Administration* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1943), pp. 51-52.

[22] Miel, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP ENCOURAGES CREATIVE TEACHING

During the recent war years education spent much of its effort in preparation for, engaging in, and recovering from the impact of complete mobilization. No one can deny the great services performed by our American schools in this international crisis. Necessary as these emergency services were, the fact remains that the creative energy of the teaching profession was expanded to save and maintain society rather than to improve it.

Experimental study and practice in local and state programs waned. The funds and personnel which had in the past been used for such experimental work as the Sloan Foundation Study, the Eight Year Study, and others were diverted to crucial problems of war. The elementary school probably suffered more than any other level of education during this period. Leadership was directed toward the preparation of the nation's youth in those competencies declared critical by the armed services.

In recent postwar years there has been an upsurge of interest in a reexamination of our educational objectives and practices. Foundations are again supporting national and regional studies directed toward the improvement of the quality of education. One of these, the Cooperative Project in Educational Administration, is so closely related to the topic under consideration that it deserves special mention.

Sponsored by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation and the American Association of School Administrators, this project is investing more than three million dollars in a five-year study of the nature of educational leadership and the processes by which it can be exercised most effectively. Cooperative projects in which teachers, school administrators, boards of education, laymen, state departments of education, and institutions of higher learning are studying the leadership process are being carried on in almost every state. An undertaking of this magnitude will undoubtedly have a significant influence on our entire educational system and may encourage future cooperative studies.

The numerous commissions, councils, and committees that are influencing leadership practices in American elementary schools are dealt with at length in the next chapter. Therefore, this discussion will be limited to the conditions and factors which will determine the effectiveness of educational leadership in encouraging creative teaching.

The fostering of creative instruction is an indication of the highest type of educational leadership. In releasing the talent for creativity, each individual is recognized as a unique personality and encouraged to discover and use his particular abilities and latent capacities. The real measure of creativity is the extent to which its expression is unique in the individual rather than in the degree to which it is unique to everyone. Creativity, then, is truly an expression of growth. *Instead of prescribing uniform procedures for every teacher to follow, leadership utilizes the creative efforts of all in developing and adapting procedures to meet their needs.* The effectiveness of such a policy depends upon the degree to which the leadership understands the major factors and conditions that influence creative teaching.

CREATIVE TEACHING IMPLIES EXPERIMENTATION. All education is to a certain extent experimental. Although leadership may develop a high group morale and an understanding of the problems involved in the teaching process, the real test of morale and the ability to teach must be made in the classroom. In other words, new or revised practices become valid only after their worth has been determined through application. This principle is emphasized in a recent yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development: "To move from a theory level to classroom implementation requires a willingness on the part of teachers to experiment. Better teaching is in itself a creative process. There can be no creativity without experimentation."[23]

CREATIVE TEACHING DEVELOPS IN A PERMISSIVE ENVIRONMENT. Creativity grows out of security. Where teachers work in friendly, sympathetic, and challenging surroundings they feel free to contribute their thinking, initiative, experiences, and resourcefulness. A permissive atmosphere implies more than freedom from authoritarian leadership; it gives freedom to try new things, to plan one's own work, to give and receive help, to make mistakes, and to share success. Bahn states the importance of a favorable environment for teachers as follows:

---

[23] Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, *Toward Better Teaching* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1949), p. 120.

If teachers are helped to build up these feelings of security and status, there will be developed in them at the same time attitudes of kindness, consideration, cooperativeness, and sympathetic understanding which are so necessary in their work with children and parents.[24]

Leadership can help to create a climate where creativity can develop in an atmosphere of trust, confidence, and mutual respect.

CREATIVENESS FINDS EXPRESSION IN A FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION. Organization may facilitate or restrict creative teaching. Therefore, it is essential that leadership help develop a form of organization that calls for the highest type of creative endeavor. Teachers should be freed from as much school and system-wide red tape as possible. Where the individual school is the planning and operational unit, there are likely to be fewer blocks to creativity. As pointed out by Willey:

> An effective way of overcoming some of these blocks to creativity on the part of classroom teachers is to base efforts for instructional improvement upon the real problems of teachers rather than upon what administrators think teachers need. If our schools are to benefit from the creative efforts that educational workers are willing to exert when given opportunity and encouragement, this approach is the only sound one.[25]

Such a concept of organization also places a high value upon the consultative, coordinating, and integrating services provided by the system-wide organization.

In a nation-wide survey, Chase found that the feeling on the part of teachers that they have an opportunity to participate regularly in planning and policy making is closely related to the extent of satisfaction they feel with the school system in which they are working. Certainly the extent of satisfaction is also one of the chief determinants of the extent of the teachers' creativeness.[26]

CREATIVE TEACHING FOSTERS RESEARCH. Creative teaching accepts the scientific attitude and applies scientific methods. It should conduct, cooperate in, and adapt scientific research and experimentation. Elementary teachers have too long relied entirely on others for research findings that may have value in their situations. In the main,

[24] Lorene A. Bahn, "Releasing Teacher Leadership," *Educational Leadership*, 5:156, December, 1947.

[25] Gilbert S. Willey, "Organizational Blocks to Creative Leadership," *Educational Leadership*, 6:279, February, 1949.

[26] Francis S. Chase, "Factors for Satisfaction in Teaching," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 23:127, November, 1951.

this situation has been the result of a lack of knowledge of how to conduct research. The problem of developing with teachers the knowledge, attitudes, and skills of research is a relatively new challenge to educational leadership.

CREATIVE TEACHING GAINS DIRECTION THROUGH EVALUATION. Continuous evaluation is the means by which creative teaching obtains a clear sense of direction. One of the problems faced by teachers as they try new procedures is the appraisal of these procedures in the light of past objectives and emerging needs. Leadership can encourage creative teaching by helping to develop cooperative evaluation procedures that will provide security for the teacher, as well as the direction which is needed.

INTERPRETATION: A MAJOR LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY

Interpretation is an interactional process by which the school and community seek to identify and meet educational needs. The starting point in interpretation is to be found in the philosophy of education. That is, we need to know where we are going before setting out on a course of action. In any approach to interpretation, attention is focused on the child for whom the school is operated. A happy, healthy, well-adjusted child has the best chance for self-realization in childhood and adult life. Fortunate is the leadership when this point is thoroughly understood by both professional personnel and laymen.

Recognition of the moral, intellectual, and social capabilities of individuals is but one step in democratic leadership. The next, and even more difficult, task is the interpretation of individual needs and potentialities in terms of society as a whole. Applying this problem to the elementary school, we can readily see that instruction can serve all children only when it is based upon a philosophy of common values and needs.

Educational leadership has the responsibility of interpreting broad societal purposes or philosophy in the light of conditions in each school or school system. In the formulation of a community-centered philosophy, it is necessary to ask and answer such questions as these: What kind of homes do the children have? What is the general attitude of parents and other citizens toward the school? What are the resources of the community, and how can these be used most effectively? How is the economic level of the community related to the quality of the school program? Where do children go after they leave the local school?

The policies and practices in each school should be the product of the best creative thinking of which school administrators, teachers, parents, and other community leaders are capable. In applying the broad, fundamental principles of educational philosophy to a specific local situation, it is well to recognize the stability of certain aspects of the school environment; customs, traditions, and institutional values change much more slowly than educational practices, and those who would retain their position of leadership must also retain their sense of tolerance, patience, and fair play.

A final step in the interpretation of educational philosophy is the development on the part of each teacher of a personal philosophy which can operate in the teaching-learning situation. In the translation of individual purposes into action, the teacher is a coleader with administrative and supervisory personnel and laymen. Where this ideal is attained, the teacher's interests and experiences blend harmoniously with a thorough understanding of the community and its problems.

The problem of interpretation poses a threefold responsibility for educational leaders. First, there is the task of determining the nature and the needs of the community. This is never fully accomplished because every community is constantly changing. Therefore, the appraisal of local situations must be continuous. A knowledge of the community may be acquired through surveys, the use of resource persons, study of institutional programs, and careful examination of documentary materials. Second, the public needs guidance in the identification of its own educational needs. The problem of securing community self-appraisal is complicated by the fact that many people have a tendency to judge schools by standards which are no longer applicable. Some parents, in all sincerity, see the present-day school through the eyes of their childhood. Third, the public needs a careful and continuous interpretation of educational practices. It is not enough for people to know what is being done in the school; they want, and have a right, to know *why* it is being done.

A school is judged to a large extent by the impression which it makes in the community, and the personnel of the school is judged by the same criterion. If we accept the premise that everyone in education has leadership responsibility, we must also recognize a mutual obligation to interpret education both within and without the profession.

Interpretation is often confused with public relations, and the latter is just as often confused with publicity. A public relations program is an avenue for interpretation; it is a channel of communication by which the two-way contact between the school and the community is maintained. Publicity, on the other hand, is merely *one* of the mediums through which public relations expedites the task of interpretation.

Recognizing the importance of public relations, the American Association of School Administrators devoted its Twenty-Eighth Yearbook to this field. This publication states that school public relations must be (1) honest in intent and execution, (2) intrinsic, (3) continuous, (4) positive in approach, (5) comprehensive, and (6) sensitive to its publics; and (7) ideas communicated must be simple.[27]

Present-day schools are operating in the confusion and unrest left by two global wars. Rapid adjustments are needed to adapt the school program to the tempo of postwar conditions. People look to education to maintain the institutions and ideals of an orderly democratic nation. More is expected of the school each year because the problems with which it must deal are becoming increasingly complex.

The purpose of interpretation is to provide a better educational program to the end that the quality of learning, and ultimately the quality of living, will be improved.

TODAY'S CHALLENGE TO LEADERSHIP

The concept of democratic leadership has matured rapidly in the twentieth century. There seems to be general agreement that such leadership is in accord with the principles underlying our democratic way of life. However, if educational leadership is to continue to develop, it must recognize and meet certain major needs and problems in a forthright and realistic manner.

CLARIFYING THE OBJECTIVES OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION. We have accepted in principle the objective of developing well-rounded individuals who are capable of meeting, challenging, and contributing to the solution of problems of society. If we are to apply this principle realistically in the actual operation of elementary schools, there must be a rethinking about and a reorganization of the curriculum. In other words, the elementary schools must show tangible evidence of objectives in action.

---

[27] American Association of School Administrators, *Public Relations for American Schools* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1950), pp. 17-30.

POOR PHYSICAL FACILITIES. Even after decades of planning, school buildings continue to be a compromise with those dating back to the platoon system. Instructional programs are being designed to fit the physical facilities of school plants, although there is general agreement that buildings, grounds, and equipment should be planned to carry out an educational program. There is a tendency for school plants to reflect only an understanding of past and present educational programs with little or no thought about the conditions under which schools will have to operate twenty-five to fifty years hence.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS FOR ADEQUATE PERSONNEL. The ever increasing demand for qualified personnel to meet mounting enrollments and to attain optimum class size is a problem foremost in the minds of educators. The approach to such a crucial problem, however, must be predicated upon the recognition of supervision as a fundamental force. Only by placing supervision in the strategic service role that it should occupy can the many advantages of the individual school as the planning and operational unit be preserved. To this end it is imperative that the work of the individual school be implemented by providing system-wide resource services that cannot be made available to schools on an individual basis.

IMPROVED COLLEGE PROGRAMS FOR THE PREPARATION OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS AND TEACHERS. Before we can hope to develop well-adjusted children in the elementary schools, we must have competent, creative administrators and teachers. All pertinent resources of the institutions of higher learning must be brought to bear upon this problem. A higher degree of cooperation between colleges of education and other disciplines will undoubtedly go far toward the improvement of the professional preparation of administrators and teachers.

Teacher education institutions have a responsibility beyond that of providing pre-service offerings and conducting research. The division between pre-service and in-service preparation is largely an arbitrary one. The concept of continuous professional growth requires that service be provided to practicing administrators and teachers. The best interests of education demand cooperative action in developing teacher education programs and in undertaking research as to how these programs are to be improved.

ORGANIZATION FOR LEADERSHIP. Before World War I there was a continuous clamor for a reexamination of the line-and-staff form of organization in terms of the principles underlying democratic leadership. As educators busied themselves with learning more about democratic ways of working, the issue subsided. Recently, however, it is again receiving attention.[28]

CLARIFICATION OF THE ROLE OF THE ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL PRINCIPAL IN INSTRUCTIONAL SUPERVISION. As indicated elsewhere in the chapter, this problem is as old as elementary-school administration. A recent study revealed that the following statement by school administrators is a common one: "It isn't pressure groups, finance, and crowded conditions that worry me. I am more concerned about the things that I should be doing in supervising the instructional program."[29] Further questioning usually resulted in a somewhat vague description of *what* the administrator should be doing. One of the major problems facing administration may be a further clarification of its responsibility for instructional supervision.

DEVELOPING A BALANCE BETWEEN "PROCESS" AND OBJECTIVES. Another problem that has long been under discussion is whether the emphasis that has been placed upon the process of working democratically in our schools has obscured the importance of the objectives sought through the process.[30] Conversely, some educators contend that there has been a recent swing of the educational pendulum too far from group processes and with undue emphasis upon objectives. Since these processes are the medium for the realization of shared leadership, this problem must receive the intelligent attention of educational leadership.

CLARIFICATION OF RESPONSIBILITIES INHERENT IN THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS. The responsibility to cooperate is one that is shared by all who are engaged in the educational process. A minority of teachers have conceived of the problem of facilitating cooperation as the responsibility of administration and supervision. This misconception of the true nature of cooperation has resulted in an abuse of democratic leadership. All teachers must recognize that they also have the responsibility of cooperating with administrators and supervisors. The idea that we will have a high degree of cooperation when we are able to democratize administration and supervision may be a false concept. Such a condition will exist only as democratic ways of working become the responsibility of all.

---

[28] For a more adequate treatment of this subject see Clyde M. Campbell, "The Administrator Treads a Perilous Path," *The Nation's Schools*, 42:49-50, March, 1952.

[29] An unfinished research project being conducted by William M. Hadley at The University of Texas, "The Role of Administration in Instructional Supervision."

[30] For an excellent discussion of this and other significant issues facing educational leadership, see Hollis L. Caswell, "Significant Curriculum Issues," *Educational Leadership*, 9:207-214, January, 1952.

A problem somewhat related to the one just mentioned is the *personal accountability* of school administrators to the board of education. Teachers with whom they share authority cannot share responsibility if things go wrong. The rationalization that teachers ultimately share such a responsibility is not enough. The problem must be met when decisions are made and policies are developed.

The fact that democratic interaction requires more teacher time may also be considered as a responsibility that accompanies the privilege of democratic participation in administration. Leadership is faced with the task of developing a consciousness of this problem on the part of all staff members. The additional responsibilities of group meetings, workshops, system-wide in-service education programs, and community duties are becoming increasingly difficult for many educators. A realistic appraisal of this problem must be made by educational leadership if the highest level of cooperation is to be maintained.

CONFLICTING SOCIAL ISSUES IN EDUCATION. Leadership is facing an era in which unparalleled social and professional conflicts are rife. The attacks on public education and its leadership by special interest groups have received much attention recently. Serious as these attacks are, educational leadership may be able to deal with them more easily than with the efforts of misguided patriots to free the schools from the fancied threat of "disloyal" teachers. Censoring of instructional materials, the imposition of regulations that imply the questioning of teacher loyalties, and similar efforts by sincere Americans are seriously inhibiting the creativity of teachers. They also are absurd in view of the stability and loyalty of the overwhelming majority of school workers.

Educational leadership must meet the challenge of interpreting these issues as well as those posed by the demand for the return to "fundamentals," the need for alleviating economic and ethnic discriminations, and the ever increasing number of services which today's schools are called upon to provide.

As the profession meets these and other problems, new ones will challenge educational leadership. This is as it should be, for the very process of coping successfully with problems brings new growth and new strength.

SUMMARY

At every stage in its development, education has been conditioned by the quality of its leadership. As the educational process has become more complex, the qualifications of leadership have become more exacting.

The development of educational leadership has grown out of a realistic search for a solution to problems that education has encountered in trying to develop a program based upon the needs of society.

One of the emerging ideals of democratic leadership is that of encouraging creative teaching. Creativity implies experimentation. It develops in a permissive environment and finds expression in a functional school organization. Creative teaching fosters research and gains direction through evaluation.

Interpretation is an interactive process by which the school and community seek to identify and to meet educational needs to the end that the quality of learning, and ultimately the quality of living, will be improved.

As educational leadership acquires a character based upon the principles underlying our democratic way of life the broadening purposes of American elementary education will more nearly be achieved.

REFERENCES

ASSOCIATION FOR SUPERVISION AND CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT, *Group Processes in Supervision*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1948.

BENNÉ, KENNETH D., "Leaders Are Made, Not Born," *Childhood Education*, 24:202-208, January, 1948.

GIBB, C. A., "The Principles and Traits of Leadership," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 42:267-285, July, 1947.

HAGMAN, HARLAN H., *The Administration of American Public Schools*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951.

JENNINGS, HELEN H., "Leadership—A Dynamic Redefinition," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 17:431-433, March, 1944.

KOOPMAN, R. C., MIEL, ALICE, AND MISNER, PAUL J., *Democracy in School Administration*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1943.

MIEL, ALICE, *Changing the Curriculum—A Social Process*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1946.

MURPHY, A. J., "A Study of the Leadership Process," *American Sociological Review*, 6:674-687, 1941.

OTTO, HENRY J., *Elementary School Organization and Administration*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1944.

SEAY, M. F., "Today's Challenge to Educational Leadership," *Elementary School Journal*, 51:177-181, December, 1950.

CHAPTER VIII

Influences of Commissions, Committees, and Organizations upon the Development of Elementary Education[1]

THE free public elementary school is probably more closely identified with the democratic ideal than is any other institution, save for such basic elements as representative government and the secret ballot. Throughout its history in the United States, the elementary school has thus been of direct concern to everyone conscious of its potentially important role.

The development of elementary education has not been the work of a few leaders, although there were such great individuals, nor has it been the achievement of any one class or section of the population. Labor leaders and social reformers, professional men and skilled artisans, statesmen and parents, have cooperated with teachers—advancing ahead of them in many cases—in pointing out goals, facing issues, and informing the people. Even limited success in the struggle to expand and improve the service of the public elementary school has been slow and difficult. In the colonial period and early years of the young republic there were bitter struggles over such issues as state control, secular versus religious education, school taxes, and compulsory attendance. The most effective support for public schools during those early difficulties, as well as in recent struggles, appears to have been provided by organized groups. This conclusion is not surprising, for in unity there *is* strength. The very fact that group action increases influence points up the importance of the contributions of organized groups to the growth of elementary education. And such influence is entirely consistent with its public character.

---

[1] This chapter was written by Lowry W. Harding, The Ohio State University.

ORGANIZATION AS A MARK OF MATURITY

The status of any institution or occupation depends upon the extent to which its functions are recognized as important. The rise of law, medicine, and engineering, for example, was supported by public understanding of the contributions of legal codes, health, and technology to the general welfare. That alone, however, was not enough to establish the positions which such institutions and occupations now enjoy. It was necessary that the practitioners themselves agree upon their functions, define goals, establish standards, and promote public understanding of their work. Unity of action, a prerequisite to the attainment of these aims, was secured through organizations of those engaged in a given occupation or otherwise interested in its advancement.

Elementary education has had a particularly long road to travel in achieving status. Its beginnings, in every culture, seem to have been humble. In America, many of the first teachers appear to have been indentured servants or "redemptioners," who, with other paupers, paid for their passage by a term of labor.[2] The early elementary schools, whether New England "dame schools," tutorial establishments, or southern "old field schools" provided for the poor, were primitive in equipment and meager in educational offering. That background of poor schools and servile origins provided a heritage against which teachers must struggle even today. The following selection conveys, with artistic sensitivity, the irony of an attitude detrimental to the improvement of elementary education and all too prevalent among the public.

ALMOST HUMAN

The other day our lady Vice-principal
Got onto the street-car.

She was wearing a brand-new dress.

I heard a woman in the seat back of me
Remark to a friend:

"Ain't it awful—the way these women dress?
You can't tell school-teachers from ladies
Now-a-days!"[3]

---

[2] H. G. Good, *A History of Western Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947), p. 368-369.

[3] Virginia Church, quoted from *Anthology in Educology*, Lowry W. Harding (comp.) (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Company, 1951), p. 34.

The status of teachers in the elementary school is directly related to the recognition given the school as an institution contributing to social welfare. That, in turn, depends upon the extent to which the public understands the importance of the childhood years in determining personality, social adjustment, and future happiness of individuals. The improvement of such understanding thus becomes the primary goal of teachers and others actively interested in elementary education. Teaching, in common with other types of work, becomes mature as its practitioners establish professional organizations for formulating purposes and achieving aims. The long, slow rise toward professional status in preparation, quality of service, recognition, and remuneration has been the result of the work of numerous organizations.

Pioneering Contributions of Early Committees

The principle of free public education has so long been accepted and the public elementary school has become so thoroughly established as an institution that its dependence upon public concern is sometimes overlooked or at least minimized. The fact that these United States now have a comprehensive system of free schools available to all the children of all the people as an inherent right is due, almost entirely, to the work of public-spirited citizens united in committee action. Organized as committees of citizens, of state legislators, of labor representatives, and of philanthropic groups, the people supported their ideals of education from colonial days onward.

Citizens' Committees of the Colonial Period. No one among the little band of 105 adventurers who landed on the banks of the James River in 1607, the first shipload of captives from Africa delivered as slaves in 1619, or the Puritans who settled at Plymouth in 1620 and at Boston in 1630 originally sought free public education. They came for gold, as victims of man's inhumanity to man, or for individuality of religious freedom. Originally, those who held the power of policy making appeared quite satisfied with the educational institutions and opportunities which would have been theirs had they remained at home.

The ideas of creatively ambitious individuals, strengthened by the support of cooperative group action, soon began to evaluate the educational aspirations of the people. The "Boston Citizens Schooling Committee," to start with the earliest example, arranged for a "general meeing upon public notice" on April 13, 1635, at which it was agreed to invite one Philemon Purmont to be their schoolmaster.[4] It is not known whether he accepted, but it is clear that in that year or the next the school was opened. Eventually named the "Boston Latin School," it was and is a public school. Apparently as a result of the practical ambitions for their children on the part of the citizens who called the meeting, reading, writing, and arithmetic were taught in the school as well as Latin.

The Boston Latin School grew until, around 1666, the curriculum was made more narrowly classical and the boys had to attend private schools for instruction in the three R's. Undoubtedly, that elimination of free public elementary education caused hardship among the less well-to-do. Protests subsequently resulted in the restoration of free elementary education, but in schools separate from the Latin school. In establishing the new "free schools to teach the children of poor people," the Boston selectmen developed a peculiar plan reminiscent of that modern anachronism, the platoon school, and of the "double half-day" sessions in cities lacking adequate school housing. Known as the "double-headed system," it provided separate reading schools and writing schools.[5] Reading, grammar, and geography were taught in the former; penmanship, arithmetic, and bookkeeping in the latter. Divided into two groups, the same pupils attended both schools in different halves of the day. This total emphasis on subject matter and skills (without regard for the integration of the child's personality) was a long way from modern developmental programs of self-contained classroom plans, but it was the prototype of all American public elementary schools.

The work of Samuel Adams and the "Committee of Eminent Bostonians" organized in 1789 illustrates the fact that truly intelligent leaders have consistently recognized the importance of efficient free public elementary schools. The Adams committee recognized that the Massachusetts statute of 1642, proudly cited as "the first general education law in New England," was largely an apprenticeship law, passed to remedy "the great neglect in many parents and masters in training up their children in learning and labor and other employments which may be profitable to the commonwealth." The second general law on education, passed in 1647, ordered every town (township) of one hundred households to establish a secondary school and every town of fifty households to establish an elementary school. This action made the year 1647 probably the most important single date in the history of American elementary education, since it provided the all-important legal precedent for the establishment of free public elementary schools in political subdivisions throughout the nation. But even that law did not include compulsory attendance (a step not taken until more than two centuries later, in 1852). Educational progress is indeed achieved slowly and teachers' patience must be as long as life!

---

[4] H. G. Good, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

[5] *Ibid.*

In devising a "new system of education" as a local application of the Massachusetts School Law of 1789, the Adams committee established the principle of distributing public-school service in proportion to the needs of the people. Their "new system" eliminated Boston's second Latin school (opened in 1712, closed in 1789) and established three reading and three writing schools. The committee's plan also provided, for the first time, for the education of girls at public expense in the reading and writing schools. However, the "new system" continued a rule imposed in 1785 refusing admission to the public elementary schools of children below the age of seven, as well as those unable to read! That highly important basic skill was to be achieved at a fee in private dame schools. Then as now it appears that private interests become factors for compromise. The policy lasted until 1818, another red-letter day in elementary education, when Boston opened public primary schools to teach beginners to read.

A final evidence of the educational statesmanship of Samuel Adams and his "Committee of Eminent Bostonians" is their arrangement for control of the public schools. According to their plan, a school committee of twelve members, elected annually by wards, was placed in charge of the schools. Although a school board of that size was rather large for efficient operation, it makes obvious the ideal of the Adams committee to democratize education and became the foundation of modern administrative organization.[6]

Continuing to follow events in Boston as illustrative of the impact of citizens' committees upon elementary education, a committee including one Charles Bulfinch may be cited as a prototype of certain "citizens' committees" operating in the mid-twentieth century in ways hostile to free public education. The introduction of Sunday schools into Boston in 1816 resulted in public discovery of large numbers of illiterate children. A citizens' organization pressured the selectmen into appointing a committee to investigate. It reported over five hundred children of school age not in attendance. That was later found to have been a gross understatement, as parents were unwilling to admit poverty and the committee did not wish to report large numbers.[7] Even though the small number reported was more than 20 per cent of the public-school enrollment, the committee stated that it was "deemed to be a very small number" for a city of such size, containing so many "foreigners and strangers, who are ignorant of our institutions, or have not learned to value them." How these people would learn was not suggested!

---

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 410.

Charles Bulfinch, who signed the report, was a native Bostonian and noted architect whose preparation for college had been in a public school (the Boston Latin School). Despite his own education at public expense, Bulfinch included in his report a caution to the citizens about the heavy school tax being assessed against their property. He advised that they should not expect public schools to be as good as private schools, because "from their public character there must arise some disadvantages which are not felt in private schools." Large classes, limited aims, and a narrow curriculum were among the disadvantages inherent in public schols.

Bulfinch's comments are strikingly similar to some present-day published criticisms. The large classes continue, of course, for no committee or individual has ever discovered a way of having smaller classes without employing more teachers. The other two criticisms have been reversed, and schools are now pilloried because their curriculums are too broad[8] and because their aims are too comprehensive.[9]

Despite its adverse criticisms, the Bulfinch committee did not lay its report before the school board or present it to the people in regular town meeting but had it printed and widely distributed at once, as if the issue were closed. Fortunately, there was no monopoly on print—as, fortunately, there is none yet—and such defenders of public education as James Savage and Elisha Ticknor reopened the question through liberal newspapers and presented a new petition in town meeting. Forced into the open at last, the Bulfinch committee secured the services of several prominent Bostonians, including a United States senator, to fight the extension of public education to the primary level. The selectmen (city council) sided with the Bulfinch committee in this, ironically enough. The courage of those now concerned for the continued improvement of elementary education may be strengthened by the fact that the committee was substantially defeated—despite its senatorial retainer and support of the selectmen. A separate school board was established for the primary school as a matter of protection. Those schools for children between the ages of four and seven were so successful that management by an independent board was continued until 1855, when they were merged with the grammar schools to create one of the first unified systems of public elementary education.

---

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 411-412.

[8] For example, see Mortimer Smith, *And Madly Teach* (Chicago: Henry Regnery and Company, 1949).

[9] Albert Jay Nock, *The Theory of Education in the United States* (Chicago: Henry Regnery and Company, 1949). Originally published in 1932 by Harcourt, Brace and Company.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF EARLY LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES. A typical and significant example of the action of political committees on behalf of free public elementary education at the state level is the work of the education committee of the Massachusetts Senate, beginning in 1825. Although the factory system was yet in its infancy, the Senate Education Committee found that, in most industrial towns of the state, factory-employed children were receiving no schooling. At the end of a twelve-hour workday there was little will and less time for study. As a consequence, it was reported, not more than one-sixth of the child textile workers were able to write their names. Some employers insisted that schooling for factory workers was undesirable and refused to release children for school attendance under threat of dismissing the entire family from employment. Their liberal opponents held with Horace Mann the view that "the more school houses we build the fewer jails we shall need" and quoted from Washington's Farewell Address: "In proportion as government gives force to public opinion it is important that public opinion should be enlightened." Referring to a similar problem in another state, De Witt Clinton, Governor of New York, wrote in 1826, "The first duty of government and the surest evidence of good government is the encouragement of education."

Convinced that constructive legislation and protective measures were necessary, the Massachusetts Senate Education Committee worked persistently toward that end. As a result, Massachusetts was the first of the states to enact a child labor law and make legal provision for every small child to be given opportunity for twelve weeks of school annually, in 1842.[10] Continuing efforts of those aroused on behalf of improved basic education resulted, within a decade, in Massachusetts' becoming the first state to create a compulsory school attendance law, in 1852. The importance of these laws cannot be overestimated, for their influence upon the development of elementary education was tremendous.

THE WORK OF EARLY LABOR COMMITTEES. The goal of free public elementary schools was scarcely a dream to the common man prior to the nineteenth century, even in America, for social and political history has provided little basis for such an ideal. However, the workingman's identification of education with better living and independent thinking, so courageously expressed in organized labor's recent defense of educational institutions against vicious attacks,[11] had an early beginning in the new nation. Before the election of 1828 the organized workingmen of Philadelphia asked the candidates for public office to state their positions regarding an equal and general (public) system of education. In 1829 a committee of workingmen reported upon the schools of Pennsylvania, pointing out the defects of the private schools and the "venal administration" of the law of 1809 (providing for schooling to accompany apprenticeship) and urging the admission of small children to publicly supported, efficient schools.

The New York Working Men's party went a step farther in 1830, asserting the right to have good schools supported by public funds. They criticized the practice of appropriating public funds to private academies, which largely benefited those who did not need the aid of public subventions. As is true of a few newspapers and magazines a century and a quarter later, some journals of the 1830's opposed labor's efforts to secure better free elementary education. The Education Committee of the New York Working Men's party argued that poor children should have educational opportunities equal to the rich, that "the spirit of democracy which Jefferson labored for half a century to plant in our republican soil" might become universal. The newspapers replied that such ideas of universal education were socialistic, economically unsound, and, in a competitive society, undesirable.[12] Pointing out the serious defects of the few existing public schools in Connecticut and Massachusetts, they presented such weaknesses as "proof" that the idea of providing a thorough education in free public schools was unsound and utopian.[13] One has only to add such terms as "un-American" and "subversive" to bring these criticisms as up to date as jet planes! The efforts of these labor committees were a worthy example which enlightened labor groups have followed in consistently striving for greater public support of elementary education.

---

[10] H. G. Good, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

[11] For example, see *Keep Them Free*, (Ohio CIO Council, 218 E. State St., Columbus 15, Ohio, n.d. [1951], 16 unnumbered pages.

[12] H. G. Good, *op. cit.*, p. 417.

CITIZENS' COMMITTEES WITH HORACE MANN. Of quite a different character from the committees previously mentioned were those which worked directly with Horace Mann. Where earlier committees were chiefly local, his were state-wide; while efforts of earlier groups were largely restricted to immediate problems, Mann's collaborators built for the long-range future. As president of the Massachusetts State Senate, Horace Mann contributed leadership to passage of a bill creating, in 1837, the first real state board of education. It is doubtful if that milestone would have been passed as soon or as easily without the aid of the Massachusetts Citizens' Committee. This was certainly one of the first such groups to put commonwealth above community and to put common interest in community welfare above concern for individual privilege.

When Mann was persuaded by the governor and new State Board of Education to become, in 1837, its first secretary, he faced a tremendous task in educating public opinion—including teachers themselves. The "district system," requiring an individual trustee or board of trustees for each one-room school, was widely used even in cities. Each board being an independent agency with broad powers, there was wide variation in school tax, curriculum, length of school term, teacher quality, salary, and school equipment. Instructional methods were primitive, results were poor, discipline was lax or harsh, and respect for public schools and their teachers was at a very low level. Most of the citizens had had their only education in the district elementary schools and knew no better system.

Horace Mann's legal background provided a basis for recognizing the laws of 1642 and 1647 as the foundations upon which a state public-school system could be built. The fundamental principles underlying that legislation, as translated into policy by Mann, seem to be as follows:

---

[13] *Ibid.*

runners of the normal schools and teachers colleges which have played an important role in raising professional standards, improving the efficiency of instructional methods, and changing emphasis from "literary training" to "child education." Lancaster himself urged upon teachers the idea that they should not depend exclusively upon books.

The monitorial system seems to have left two ideas of somewhat negative influence upon elementary education: (1) the notion that public instruction should be cheap and (2) the assumption that the teacher can, as a sort of foreman, instruct vast numbers of children. When combined with an educational perversion of the democratic ideal of equality, that schools can and must raise every child to a given norm of achievement, these result in a most frustrating situation.

The city-school societies, developed upon the model of English charity-school subscription organizations, nurtured ideas of immense social and political importance in the development of principles and practices in elementary education. The Manumission Society, organized in New York City in 1785 by Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and others for the purpose of "mitigating the evils of slavery, to defend the rights of the blacks [sic], and especially to give them the elements of an education,"[20] opened its first school for Negro children in 1787. Its schools were merged with those of the Public School Society of New York in 1834. Thus, since the latter had operated schools for white children, the principle of nonsegregation unobtrusively came into operation.

The Public School Society of New York, organized in 1805 with the leadership of the mayor, De Witt Clinton, as the New York Free School Society, had a strong influence in (1) shifting the emphasis from "free" to "public" schools, thus raising their status and moving toward economic democracy in education; (2) including children of all races, colors, and creeds in its enrollments, thus supporting social democracy in education; (3) building public confidence in popular universal education so that efforts to divide public funds among parochial school interests were defeated, thus contributing to political and sectarian democracy.

This latter achievement was not gained easily. One sect, growing more rapidly than others in New York because of immigration, carried its fight for public funds to the state legislature in 1840. After studying the issue for two years, the legislature created in 1842 a City Board of Education and settled the question of public support for parochial schools by enacting a law prohibiting the outlay of public funds for any school in which "any religious sectarian doctrine or tenet should be taught, inculcated, or practiced."[21] Having done its work of maintaining public interest in genuine public education through this period of parochial pressure, the Public School Society donated its buildings and properties to the City Board of Education in 1853 and went out of existence, leaving the struggle to other agencies in later centuries.

---

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 660.

Two great principles developed partially from the work of the public-school societies: (1) The diversity of religious beliefs held by the citizenry necessitate both religious freedom and tolerance; preservation of the rights of minorities becomes a social responsibility which includes public education. (2) The independent existence of the United States as a representative democracy depends upon an educated and intelligent citizenship; independent democratic thought and action are best assured through providing for the basic education of all in the common schools controlled by the states. It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of these principles, for the general welfare as well as for elementary education. Their influence has, for more than a century, contributed to the broadening of objectives, the vitalizing of the curriculum, and the functioning of the free public elementary school as the true melting pot of Americanism.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION; ITS COMMISSIONS, COMMITTEES, AND DEPARTMENTS

The *National Education Association* is the one comprehensive professional organization for all who teach in the public schools of the United States at any level. Established in 1857 in Philadelphia as the National Teachers Association, the organization has sought "to elevate the character and advance the interests of the teaching profession and to promote the cause of education throughout the country." Originally for men only, it admitted women to membership after the Indianapolis meeting of 1866—an event of some significance in view of the current proportion of the sexes engaged in elementary education. It became the National Education Association under its revised constitution adopted at the Cleveland meeting of 1870, at which time the four original departments were established: Superintendence, Normal Schools, Elementary Schools, and Higher Education. The organization secured national incorporation as the National Education Association by act of Congress, in 1906, with headquarters permanently located in Washington, D. C.

---

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 694.

Remaining true to its trust, the NEA has become the largest professional organization in America, currently having over 400,000 members. Through the work of its commissions, committees, councils, and departments, its publications, and its national conventions, it has had significant and far-reaching influence upon education. It has provided a vast reservoir of support for elementary education, especially in such concerns as improving the quality of schools, equalizing educational opportunity, achieving professional status for teachers, and maintaining effective public relations.

Portions of this chapter which follow immediately present brief summaries of the work of selected agencies of the NEA in terms of their influence upon the elementary school. Nine commissions and committees are included for their historical significance. Seven currently active commissions and councils are mentioned because of their contributions to all public education. Fourteen departments have been selected as typifying NEA branches whose activities directly influence elementary schools. Chronological order, according to date of establishment, is followed throughout.

COMMITTEES OF HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE. Practices in the elementary school have been guided by action of many committees through the years. Nine have been selected for inclusion here because of their strategic roles in determining basic issues.

The *Committee of Ten*, appointed in 1892 with Charles W. Eliot as chairman and making its report in 1893, had as its purpose to determine the function of and establish standards for the public secondary school. Its recommendations, however, based upon the work of nine conferences of experts in various subjects, had direct and far-reaching influence upon the elementary school as well. For example, the majority report advanced the doctrine that it made no difference to a student's future what subjects he studied, as long as they provided "strong and effective mental training,"[22] but strongly emphasized classical academic subjects in sample curriculums. That stress upon academic achievement in a narrow range of subjects tended to make the elementary school neglect total child development in favor of direct training for high-school work, discouraged experimentation, and emphasized mechanical methods of instruction.

---

[22] National Education Association, *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies* (New York: American Book Company, 1894), p. 53.

The committee's invention of the unit system, basing a unit of instructional credit on a given number of recitation periods per week, apparently stimulated the adoption of rigidly fixed time schedules in the elementary school. Such arbitrary time allotments for separate subjects are only now becoming more flexible, with acceptance of the principles of correlation and integration of related materials and experiences. The recommendation that the then-popular eight-year elementary school be reduced to a six-year program, in order that foreign languages and high-school mathematics and science could be begun earlier, had effects that are evident today.

Perhaps the committee's strongest and most pernicious influence on elementary-school practices was the emphasis upon formal discipline. That theory of learning was based upon faculty psychology, which assumed the mind to be composed of separate faculties or mental powers: will, memory, attention, judgment, observation, reason, and the like. Abstracted from the various reports[23] of the Committee of Ten, its general objectives of education were to:

1. Afford mental discipline.
2. Teach every subject in the same way and to the same extent to every pupil, as the best way to develop all the faculties.
3. Teach each principal subject thoroughly and extensively, and therefore for an adequate number of periods each week in the school program.
4. Allow selection to be exercised by pupils among some subjects, but all subjects between which choice is allowed should be equivalent in dignity and efficiency.
5. Train the pupil's powers of observation, reasoning, and expression.
6. Prepare for the duties of life "that small proportion of all the children in the country who show themselves able to profit by

---

[23] *Ibid., passim.* Also, National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings* (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1893), *passim.* Note: For practicality, the publisher is given as the National Education Association in each citation of its addresses and proceedings since that is the continuing source and, during the early years, its reports were published by various companies, many no longer in existence.

> an education prolonged to the eighteenth year, and whose parents are able to support them while they remain in school."

Further illustrating the consistent adherence to the concept of teaching as "training the mind" is the following classic statement, quoted from the report of the conference on history.

> The principal end of all education is training. In this respect history has a value different from, but in no way inferior to, that of languages, mathematics, and science. The mind is chiefly developed in three ways; by cultivating the powers of discriminating observation; by strengthening the logical faculty of following an argument from point to point; and by improving the process of comparison, that is, judgment.
>
> As studies in language and in the Natural Sciences are best adapted to cultivate the habits of observation; as mathematics are the traditional training of the reasoning faculties; so history and its allied branches are better adapted than any other studies to promote the invaluable mental power which we call judgment.[24]

Although faculty psychology and its pedagogical sister, formal discipline, have been discredited by modern scientific research and are not accepted by professional educators or psychologists today, many naïve persons still believe that teaching is "training mental faculties" by formal discipline. The Committee of Ten gave longer life to that unfortunate idea.

Despite its advocacy of mental discipline and other negative notions, there were a number of constructive results. Among them were the focus of attention on the curriculum, emphasis upon the need for improved teacher preparation, and encouragement of the committee approach to educational problems—a mixed blessing to today's committee-ridden teachers. The articulation of the entire school program, from kindergarten through college, was recognized as desirable. Recommendations for standardization and accrediting, resulting in overemphasis upon mechanical detail in many cases, have undoubtedly done far more good than harm. A group of dissenters prepared a minority report calling attention to the importance of considering "the nature and value of the content" of the subjects taught. They demanded a larger place for the activity subjects, opposed the doctrine of the educational equivalence of subjects (questioning the automatic transfer of training assumed by faculty psychology), and insisted upon selection of subjects in terms of present and future needs of individual students.[25] The minority report portended future improvements which came first to the elementary school and, in no small measure, from interest stimulated by the Committee of Ten.

---

[24] National Education Association, *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies*, p. 168.

When the Department of Superintendence, in the Boston meeting of 1893, proposed a committee of ten "to investigate the organization of school systems, the coordination of studies in primary and grammar schools, and the training of teachers," the committee was promptly appointed by the NEA, with five members added to avoid confusion with the Committee of Ten, and, as the Committee of Fifteen, presented its report in 1895.[26] Except for its advocacy of faculty psychology, the report of this first national committee on elementary education was constructive on all three phases of its work, in some cases a half-century ahead of popular practice.

Principles recommended in organizing schools included distinction between legislative and executive functions; separation of school affairs from partisan politics and commercial business; and division of administration into two departments, business and instruction, with the head of the latter having a long term. The committee emphasized both an ideal and a problem in complaining that administrators tend to lose sight of the end of education—which is the child.[27] To provide a more continuous balanced program, the committee recommended an eight-year elementary school beginning with the sixth year of age, thus opposing the Committee of Ten.[28]

Recommendations on coordination of studies gave a tremendous boost to functional correlation of subjects in the elementary-school curriculum, as is evident in the following unanimously adopted proposition: "The civilization of the age—the environment into which the child is born—should determine the selection of the objects of study, to the end that the child may gain an insight into the world in which he lives and a command over its resources such as is obtained by a helpful cooperation with his fellows."[29] Many teachers have not yet reached the level of professional thought represented in the committee's recommendation that "The study of English grammar should be made subordinate and auxiliary to the study of English literature."[30]

---

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 57 *et seq.*

[26] National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings* (1895).

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 256.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

Better professional preparation of teachers was urged as the committee plaintively observed[31] that supervisors, principals, superintendents, and community leaders who had a "higher education of the college [i.e., classical-cultural education], but no professional training for teaching, have little sympathy with elementary education and do not encourage young teachers to work toward ideals of teaching, but rather make light of it all." Striking at a perennial false assumption, one member stated: "I do not believe in the born teacher. The truly born teacher must receive a second birth, either through professional training or an extended uphill experience. I believe a thorough normal [i.e., teachers college] training to be a necessity."[32] The shockingly inadequate preparation of teachers of the time is indicated by the recommendation that teachers in the grades should have a high-school education and teachers in high school a college education. That led to the requirement of a college degree for secondary-school teachers but, however realistic regarding available finances, contributed to the long continuation of miserably low levels of preparation and remuneration for teachers in the elementary schools.

Extensive but indirect influences upon the elementary school resulted from the work of the Committee on College Entrance Requirements, commonly known as the *Committee of Twelve*. Appointed in 1895 and reporting in 1899, it concluded that close articulation between schools and colleges would be aided by colleges' stating their entrance requirements in terms of units of definite and national value.[33] This conclusion followed the idea advanced by Charles W. Eliot in 1894 that colleges organize a board of examiners to conduct admissions examinations all over the country.[34] That idea, given indirect but national support by the Committee of Twelve, resulted in the establishment of the College Entrance Examination Board on November 17, 1900, by the Association of Colleges and

---

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 236.

[31] *Ibid.*, p. 257.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 252-253.

[33] National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings* (1899), *passim.*

[34] Claude M. Fuess, *The College Board: Its First Fifty Years* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1950), p. 15.

Secondary Schools of the Middle States and Maryland.[35] These events influenced high schools to construct curriculums from units implied in specifications of the colleges and to direct instruction toward the types of material included in College Board examinations. The resulting stabilization of high-school programs had some stultifying effects upon the elementary school but aided by providing a definite continuing goal for instruction as far as preparation for high-school work was concerned.

The Committee of Twelve concluded its work with fourteen concise recommendations, five of which had strong influences upon the elementary school. Its insistence that the high-school program begin with the seventh grade is credited with causing the establishment of the junior high school, with that new institutional unit coming into existence about 1910 in Columbus, Ohio, and Berkeley, California.[36] Recognition of secondary schools as "schools of the people" as well as college preparatory mills relieved pressure on elementary schools to force every child to the same norm. The recommendation of reference libraries slowly resulted in the elementary schools' obtaining a few reference and recreational materials to enrich work in omnipresent texts. Attention to guidance was stimulated as a result of the recommendation that principals be relieved of clerical detail to allow time for this responsibility. Decrease in homework assignments resulted—but slowly—from the recommendation that the school day be lengthened to provide time for supervised study.

Increasing pressure to reduce the elementary school to six years resulted from the work of the *Committee on the Six-Year Course of Study*, appointed by the Department of Secondary Education at the NEA meeting of 1905 and making reports in 1907, 1908, and 1909.[37] It argued that six high-school years should be provided to give pupils more time to prepare for college, ignoring the fact that there would then be less time to prepare for high school or to meet other needs. However, the importance of continuity of educational experience was stressed in urging adoption of an integrated program to eliminate the "natural stopping place" at the ninth grade in 6-3-3 plans. The committee's emphasis upon need for greater flexibility in promotion eventually modified practices in the elementary school, which had been too prone to retain pupils until they met "grade standards" regardless of serious negative consequences in attitudes, emotional tensions, and social adjustment. That constructive idea was largely voided by the recommendation that standards of minimum essentials be established for pupils completing grade six.

---

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[36] Adolph E. Meyer, *The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949), p. 395.

[37] National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings* (1905, 1907, 1908, 1909).

This marked the beginning of a long struggle to determine whether the basic function of the elementary school was the all-around development of children or preparation for secondary school. The high school, under pressure of college entrance requirements, attempted to pass this pressure on to the lower school. The latter resisted with little immediate success, for new ideas of standardization were strong. The first objective reasoning test had been issued by Cliff W. Stone in 1908,[38] and Thorndike published his scale for the measurement of handwriting in 1910.[39] Standardization in schools of all types received sharp impetus from the publication, in the same year, of Abraham Flexner's survey of medical schools[40] disclosing that many were little more than trade schools with appallingly low standards. These influences apparently caused the recommendation of the committee to take effect rapidly, for in 1912 the surveyors who examined New York City schools made the first use of a standardized test—the Courtis Arithmetic Test—to obtain part of the data.[41] Supported by these events, the recommendations of the Committee on the Six-Year Course of Study exerted continuing influence on elementary-school practices.

The *Committee on Economy of Time* is important chiefly because it marked the beginning of the influence of the "reductionists"—a group convinced that the curriculum was overcrowded, that there was great waste in elementary education, and that more could be accomplished in less time. The NEA's National Council of Education appointed the original committee in 1908. At the council's invitation in 1912, committees were added by the Department of Superintendence and the National Association of State Universities.

---

[38] Adolph E. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 426.

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] Abraham Flexner, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada* (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1910) (Bulletin).

[41] Adolph E. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 433.

The report of the National Council's committee,[42] of which more than 12,000 copies were distributed, influenced thought upon all levels of education but especially the high school and college. Reports by the committee representing the state universities related to the same levels.[43]

Devoting its attention largely to elementary education, the Department of Superintendence kept its committee active for seven years, making four extensive reports as yearbooks of the National Society for the Study of Education.[44] Those reports strongly advocated the point of view of social utility in curriculum making, assumed it uneconomical to teach a child something he does not need to know, and suggested that "culture" be redefined in terms of the value of the individual in modern social and industrial life. They ushered in the era of "scientific method" in curriculum construction, interpreted as enumeration of activities successfully pursued outside the school and as "job analysis" of those activities in determining what information and skills need be taught. Two general principles for selection of specific items of subject matter were suggested: (1) "Whatever is included in any subject for any age must be reasonably comprehended by children of that age." (2) "Whatever is included must minister to the social needs common to ordinary American children."

Proposals for reconstruction of the elementary-school curriculum went into such detail as illustrating a method of building the grammar course on children's errors, listing the arithmetic problems arising in life situations, et cetera. While this gave a rather mechanical emphasis to content and instruction, it also tended to systematize both. The specifics change as the culture changes, and the utilitarian emphasis has been modified, but the principles suggested for selection of subject matter have been of enduring value.

---

[42] *Economy of Time in Education*. (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 38, 1913).

[43] National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings* (1912, 1913, 1917, 1919), *passim*.

[44] National Society for the Study of Education, *Fourteenth Yearbook*, Part I, "Minimum Essentials in Elementary School Subjects—Standards and Current Practices" (Chicago: The Society, 1915); *Sixteenth Yearbook*, Part I, "Second Report of the Committee on Minimum Essentials in Elementary School Subjects" (1917); *Seventeenth Yearbook*, Part I, "Third Report of the Committee on Economy of Time in Education" (1918); *Eighteenth Yearbook*, Part II, "Fourth Report of the Committee on Economy of Time in Education" (1919).

The *Commission on Reorganization of Secondary Education*, appointed in 1912 and reporting in 1918,[45] is of significance to elementary education because it marked a shift from preoccupation with subject matter to concern for the individual pupil. Pointing out that only one-third of the elementary pupils reached high school and that of those only one in nine remained to graduate, the commission decided that secondary education should be based upon the needs of society, the natures and capacities of the pupils, and professional knowledge of education. With preparation for life as the primary purpose, the famous seven "Cardinal Principles" or main objectives were proposed as guides: (1) health, (2) command of the fundamental processes, (3) worthy home membership, (4) vocation, (5) civic education, (6) worthy use of leisure, (7) ethical character. These proposals, and recognition that "Education in a democracy, both within and without the school, should develop in each individual the knowledge, interests, ideals, habits, and powers whereby he will find his place and use that place to shape both himself and society toward ever nobler ends," suggested the kind of secondary education which would be consistent with the goals toward which elementary education was striving.

The purpose of the *Commission on Reorganization of Elementary Education*, appointed by the NEA in 1921, and reporting in 1922 and 1923,[46] was eloquently expressed by Oliver M. Jones (Principal of Public School Number 120, New York City), a member:

> For many years we have talked about the melting pot and not even we teachers realized that the flame which kept that melting pot boiling was kindled in the public schools and that the fuel which keeps the flame burning is found in the materials and methods of instruction used by teachers in the public schools. . . . It is true that we have passed compulsory attendance laws, but the passage of a law doesn't educate. We teachers must do that. Putting a child inside school walls does not teach him. Preparing tables showing the extent of retardation does not remove the retardation or tell teachers how to remove it. Making trivial recommendations as to whether grammar should be taught below the high school or whether history should be taught chronologically or biograph-

---

[45] National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings* (1917, 1918), *passim*. See also Clarence D. Kingsley, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 35, 1918).

[46] National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings* (1921), pp. 131-138; (1922), pp. 338-343; (1923), pp. 255-257.

> ically or how much arithmetic should be taught is only just scratching the surface of the ground to be dug.
>
> We have failed to meet the challenge of the compulsory education laws just as we have failed to meet the need of the nation created by the onrush of immigrants with un-American ideas, difficult to teach because of a foreign tongue. Our courses of study in English are the same as when English was the native speech of all Americans and they take no account of the lack of home background presupposed by those courses of study. We forced children into school and then took it for granted that they must accept gratefully the same type of education, the same sort and degree of education, which had been given for generations to children who accepted it willingly because they hoped some day to go to college.
>
> It is to meet this challenge that the Commission on Reorganization of Elementary Education is aiming. . . .[47]

This group accepted the viewpoints reflected in the "Cardinal Principles" but stated them more functionally, suggesting that the general objectives of the elementary school are to: (1) teach children how to earn a living; (2) teach children the things that make life worth living; (3) teach children how to be faithful guardians of democracy in home and nation; (4) teach each child to make the best of his own highest powers and to be a well-rounded personality as well as a democratic citizen; (5) give an equal opportunity for education to every child, not only for the sake of the child himself, but for the preservation of our national ideals and for the salvation of all of us, of the world; (6) teach each child the fundamentals of character, or religious living; (7) provide a differentiation in courses of study to meet the needs of different children and the needs of a nation which must be welded into a united American people; (8) prevent retardation and delinquency.

The strong influence of this commission resulted from its insistence that 100 per cent perfection in subject matter was not a satisfactory goal but that qualitative outcomes must be sought. It was also the first group dealing with elementary education on a national scale to include representatives from elementary schools in any considerable proportion. The strong emphasis upon modification of practices in terms of individual pupils had a salutary effect upon current thought.

Two ideas of continuing influence were contributed by the *Commission on the Curriculum*: (1) that activities of pupils constitute the curriculum and (2) that subject matter must be judged on the basis of the manner in which it functions in life adjustments. Appointed by the NEA Department of Superintendence in 1923[48] and publishing its reports as six yearbooks between 1924 and 1929, of which three dealt directly with the elementary school,[49] the commission introduced the "cooperative plan of curriculum revision" and demonstrated its efficiency.

---

[47] *Ibid.* (1921), p. 136.

By emphasizing broad issues, opposing standardized curriculums, and encouraging individual school systems to develop courses adapted to their own needs, greater flexibility was attained in instruction. Opinion and tradition were displaced by research as the basis for curriculum making, and the learner displaced subject matter as the focus of curricular concern.

After more than six decades of committee action on a great variety of matters, the NEA gave specific attention to that foot soldier of the educational army—the classroom teacher. Appointed by the NEA executive committee in 1923 and reporting the following year,[50] the *Committee of One Hundred on Classroom Teachers' Problems* stimulated recognition of the fact that quality of instruction depends, in final analysis, upon the teacher as an individual. Frustrated, unhappy, overworked, underpaid, ignored, or harshly criticized, teachers cannot work effectively. Profound professional understandings, expert instructional procedures, and high pupil achievement have been routinely expected, ironically enough, of people having little professional preparation, almost no professional recognition, and remuneration below that of skilled artisans. By calling attention to those and similar problems, the committee aroused interest in better salary schedules, improved preparation and tenure, and the importance of mental hygiene. Improvement in such matters, although slow, inevitably resulted in improved instructional practices.

COMMISSIONS AND COUNCILS CURRENTLY ACTIVE. Seven NEA commissions and councils influence the elementary school indirectly but significantly. Oldest is the *National Council of Education*, organized soon after the establishment of the NEA, which has provided statesmanlike judgment in proposing questions needing study by special committees and in guiding general policy. The *National Council on Teacher Retirement* has contributed greatly to reduction of "turnover" and growth toward professional status through its tireless efforts to provide greater financial security. The *National Commission on Safety Education,* established to advance "the fundamental principle that education for safe living is, and must be, an integral part of general education for all people," contributed to the achievement of that goal through a variety of services, including such publications as *Student Patrols in the School Community* and such films as *Tony Learns About Fire.*

---

[48] For brief reports of progress, see National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings*.

[49] Department of Superintendence, *The Elementary School Curriculum* (Washington, D.C.: The Department, 1924 yearbook); *Research in Constructing the Elementary School Curriculum* (1925 yearbook); *The Nation at Work on the Public School Curriculum* (1926 yearbook).

[50] National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings* (1924), pp. 265-269.

The days when satisfactory education might consist of a boy with a book, on a bench in a log cabin, passed with the advent of graded organization, compulsory attendance, and achievement standards. Effective school housing and equipment have become basic necessities of modern instructional practices. Support of measures to increase such facilities, including elementary-school buildings, e.g., the Lanham Act, Public Law 815, has been provided by the *Legislative and Federal Relations Division* of the NEA. Established in 1920[51] as the Legislative Commission, this agency has recommended the federal legislative policy of the NEA and developed nation-wide awareness of school needs on the part of educators as well as laymen. Long-range influence upon educational practice is suggested by support of the school lunch program and of federal funds for wartime nursery schools and child-care centers.

From 1933 through 1935, the Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education defended public schools against unfriendly forces generated by the economic depression. Partly as a result of those experiences, which showed that piecemeal planning of American education was entirely inadequate, the *Educational Policies Commission* of the NEA and the American Association of School Administrators (name changed from "Department of Superintendence" in 1937) was appointed in December, 1935, "to prepare, publish and disseminate statements of proposed policy regarding the conduct of education in the United States." Under joint sponsorship of the NEA and AASA, the commission has continuously functioned to develop more effective understanding and cooperation between various organized groups interested in educational improvement.

---

[51] Data for this section and the one following were secured from a wide variety of sources, including NEA *Addresses and Proceedings* and letters to several of the organizations.

Typical of its influential contributions are two publications, *The Unique Functions of Education in American Democracy* and *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*. The former[52] set forth fourteen functions as basic to effective instruction: knowledge of the practical and social arts, knowledge of the funded wisdom and aspirations of the race, knowledge of the fine arts, ethics, training of the body and spirit, social virtues, maintenance and improvement of American society, nourishment of the free spirit of science, support and exemplification of the processes of government and society, preparation for associational life and activities and participation in associational government, aid in upholding social values, concern with vocational guidance and employment, education of adults, and sustaining educational liberty. Actual teaching practices were perhaps more directly influenced by the second publication mentioned,[53] because of the operational definitions provided. Four major objectives were proposed for education at all levels: self-realization, human relationships, economic efficiency, civic responsibility. Subdivisions of these, defined in terms of behavior, suggest teaching procedures. For example, included under the first objective is "the enquiring mind," defined thus: "The educated person has an appetite for knowledge." Throughout its career, the Educational Policies Commission has exemplified the idea that the curriculum and instructional practices can be reconstructed without any revolutionary or disruptive program of adjustment. Its proposals have suggested that education can serve both as a conserver of societal values and as a key to societal progress.

Established by vote of the NEA Delegate Assembly in 1941, the *National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education* was asked to "(1) give the public more understanding of the importance of education for all of our people; (2) defend the cause of education against unjust attacks and investigate charges that involve teachers, schools, educational methods, and procedures; (3)

---

[52] Educational Policies Commission, *The Unique Functions of Education in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1937), pp. 78-97.

[53] Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1938).

work for educational conditions essential for the perpetuation of our democracy."[54] Although its influence upon elementary education has been largely incidental the "NEA Defense Commission," as it is usually termed, has affected instructional practices by defending elementary-school teachers against unfair treatment and unjust dismissal.[55] Defense of elementary education against unfair charges of teaching communism or of not teaching the three R's, and various other attacks, as well as striving for greater human understanding and brotherhood,[56] has aided in preservation of the integrity of classroom procedures.

Major contributions to the professionalizing of teaching have been made by the *National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards,* created by the NEA Representative Assembly in 1946 to carry on a continuing program of improvement for the profession in matters of teacher selection, preparation, certification, and professional standards, including standards for teacher-education institutions. Among its achievements have been the upgrading of professional standards, particularly in teacher certification; improvement of teacher welfare, through a professional salary policy widely adopted; sponsorship of nation-wide in-service teacher-education programs; strengthening of pre-service teacher-education programs; development of a professional accrediting process with united professional support. These are essential foundations if teaching is to be made a true profession. Teaching practices improve as the quality of instructional staffs improves—other factors being equal. Recognizable results have already been achieved by the commission through improved standards of preparation and certification for elementary teachers, better orientation and guidance programs, and the Supply-Demand Study. The latter has provided data resulting in increasing the number of persons choosing elementary-school teaching as a career.

DEPARTMENTS DIRECTLY INFLUENCING ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. The departments of the NEA are valuable sources of ideas and suggestions for improvements in instructional practices. Representing, as

---

[54] National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, *Defense Bulletin*, December, 1951, No. 41, pp. 1-2.

[55] As, for example, in the cases of North College Hill, Ohio, Mars Hill, N.C., Grand Prairie, Tex., New York, N.Y., et cetera. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-10.

[56] See, for example, *True Faith and Allegiance* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1950).

Typical of its influential contributions are two publications, *The Unique Functions of Education in American Democracy* and *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*. The former[52] set forth fourteen functions as basic to effective instruction: knowledge of the practical and social arts, knowledge of the funded wisdom and aspirations of the race, knowledge of the fine arts, ethics, training of the body and spirit, social virtues, maintenance and improvement of American society, nourishment of the free spirit of science, support and exemplification of the processes of government and society, preparation for associational life and activities and participation in associational government, aid in upholding social values, concern with vocational guidance and employment, education of adults, and sustaining educational liberty. Actual teaching practices were perhaps more directly influenced by the second publication mentioned,[53] because of the operational definitions provided. Four major objectives were proposed for education at all levels: self-realization, human relationships, economic efficiency, civic responsibility. Subdivisions of these, defined in terms of behavior, suggest teaching procedures. For example, included under the first objective is "the enquiring mind," defined thus: "The educated person has an appetite for knowledge." Throughout its career, the Educational Policies Commission has exemplified the idea that the curriculum and instructional practices can be reconstructed without any revolutionary or disruptive program of adjustment. Its proposals have suggested that education can serve both as a conserver of societal values and as a key to societal progress.

Established by vote of the NEA Delegate Assembly in 1941, the *National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education* was asked to "(1) give the public more understanding of the importance of education for all of our people; (2) defend the cause of education against unjust attacks and investigate charges that involve teachers, schools, educational methods, and procedures; (3)

[52] Educational Policies Commission, *The Unique Functions of Education in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1937), pp. 78-97.

[53] Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1938).

been largely incidental the "NEA Defense Commission," as it is usually termed, has affected instructional practices by defending elementary-school teachers against unfair treatment and unjust dismissal.[55] Defense of elementary education against unfair charges of teaching communism or of not teaching the three R's, and various other attacks, as well as striving for greater human understanding and brotherhood,[56] has aided in preservation of the integrity of classroom procedures.

Major contributions to the professionalizing of teaching have been made by the *National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards,* created by the NEA Representative Assembly in 1946 to carry on a continuing program of improvement for the profession in matters of teacher selection, preparation, certification, and professional standards, including standards for teacher-education institutions. Among its achievements have been the upgrading of professional standards, particularly in teacher certification; improvement of teacher welfare, through a professional salary policy widely adopted; sponsorship of nation-wide in-service teacher-education programs; strengthening of pre-service teacher-education programs; development of a professional accrediting process with united professional support. These are essential foundations if teaching is to be made a true profession. Teaching practices improve as the quality of instructional staffs improves—other factors being equal. Recognizable results have already been achieved by the commission through improved standards of preparation and certification for elementary teachers, better orientation and guidance programs, and the Supply-Demand Study. The latter has provided data resulting in increasing the number of persons choosing elementary-school teaching as a career.

DEPARTMENTS DIRECTLY INFLUENCING ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS. The departments of the NEA are valuable sources of ideas and suggestions for improvements in instructional practices. Representing, as

---

[54] National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, *Defense Bulletin*, December, 1951, No. 41, pp. 1-2.

[55] As, for example, in the cases of North College Hill, Ohio, Mars Hill, N.C., Grand Prairie, Tex., New York, N.Y., et cetera. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-10.

[56] See, for example, *True Faith and Allegiance* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1950).

they do, members of the national organization who are further grouped in terms of specialized interest, their recommendations carry authoritative weight. Fourteen departments have been selected for discussion (in order of dates of original establishment) because of their particular contributions to elementary-school practices.

The *American Association of School Administrators,* organized in 1865[57] as the National Association of School Superintendents, became one of the four[58] original departments of the NEA in 1870. It was called the Department of Superintendence of the NEA in the act of incorporation of 1906 and assumed its present title in 1937. The AASA has continuously played a major role in determining the organization, functions, and general instructional practices of the elementary school. Subscribing for its members as citizens, the AASA accepts such beliefs as:[59] "that education is the greatest constructive force at the disposal of democratic peoples for the solution of their problems" and "that our traditional policy of separation of church and state is essential to our American way of life"; and, as educators, "that universal free education must be made available by and to all peoples in the interests of world understanding, citizenship, and peace," and "that spiritual, social, civic, economic, and vocational competencies are as important as academic literacy." The AASA also pledges that:

> In order that these principles may be realized in our society, we as school administrators propose to work for:
>
> (1) Professionally competent administrative leadership, dedicated to the service of good teaching in every community.
>
> (2) The recruitment, preparation, and inservice growth of outstanding individuals as teachers, administrators, and other professional workers to assure good teaching.
>
> (3) Salaries and conditions which will attract and retain good teachers.
>
> (4) A curriculum which includes teaching the background of the thinking of our Founding Fathers, so that pupils may have a thorough understanding of the extent and possibilities of our government for the individual and society.
>
> (5) Smaller classes, more attention to each individual, and more

---

[57] National Education Association, *NEA Handbook, 1951-52* (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1951), p. 291.

[58] The other three: Elementary Schools, Higher Education, Normal Schools.

[59] See *The Platform,* American Association of School Administrators, revised December, 1951, for complete official statement.

adequate materials and equipment—thus providing a better educational program for each child.

(6) Wide sharing with teachers and lay groups in the cooperative formulation of educational policies and programs on local, state and national levels.

(7) An extended use of all school facilities for educational and recreational purposes.

(8) School districts large enough to meet modern educational needs effectively and economically.

(9) A program of joint lay and professional activities which will lead to an intelligent appreciation of the work and needs of the schools and to the development of ways and means of meeting those needs.

(10) Complete fiscal independence of local boards of education.

(11) Federal aid for operating and providing facilities for publicly supported and controlled schools, administered, *without federal control,* through the U. S. Office of Education and state departments of education.[60]

These quotations indicate the broad and statesmanlike (yet realistically practical) aims of the AASA and suggest the nature of its influence. Achievement of its aims means improvement of instruction. On the "front line" of public-school work, its members are the most exposed to attack and the least protected of all public-education groups. Ironically enough, the AASA has helped to secure teacher-tenure laws in many states, but its members do not themselves have tenure in most instances.

As a result of increasing interest in the educational ideas of Frederick A. W. Froebel and in recognition of the educational importance of the early childhood years, the NEA organized a Kindergarten Department in 1884.[61] This action, eleven years after Superintendent William T. Harris of St. Louis had taken the pioneering step of incorporating kindergartens into a public-school system (under the directorship of Susan E. Blow), translated educational theory into practice far more rapidly than is usually the case. Devoting itself to such topics as child study, education for parenthood, health and physical development of small children, handwork, and industrial education, the department contributed greatly to understanding of the learning process. Two continuing problems have been the maintenance of kindergartens during periods of financial stress and intetive understanding and cooperation between various organized groups interested in educational improvement.

---

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] National Education Association, *Addresses and Proceedings* (1884), p. 187 *et seq.*

Typical of its influential contributions are two publications, *The Unique Functions of Education in American Democracy* and *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*. The former[52] set forth fourteen functions as basic to effective instruction: knowledge of the practical and social arts, knowledge of the funded wisdom and aspirations of the race, knowledge of the fine arts, ethics, training of the body and spirit, social virtues, maintenance and improvement of American society, nourishment of the free spirit of science, support and exemplification of the processes of government and society, preparation for associational life and activities and participation in associational government, aid in upholding social values, concern with vocational guidance and employment, education of adults, and sustaining educational liberty. Actual teaching practices were perhaps more directly influenced by the second publication mentioned,[53] because of the operational definitions provided. Four major objectives were proposed for education at all levels: self-realization, human relationships, economic efficiency, civic responsibility. Subdivisions of these, defined in terms of behavior, suggest teaching procedures. For example, included under the first objective is "the enquiring mind," defined thus: "The educated person has an appetite for knowledge." Throughout its career, the Educational Policies Commission has exemplified the idea that the curriculum and instructional practices can be reconstructed without any revolutionary or disruptive program of adjustment. Its proposals have suggested that education can serve both as a conserver of societal values and as a key to societal progress.

Established by vote of the NEA Delegate Assembly in 1941, the *National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education* was asked to "(1) give the public more understanding of the importance of education for all of our people; (2) defend the cause of education against unjust attacks and investigate charges that involve teachers, schools, educational methods, and procedures; (3)

---

[52] Educational Policies Commission, *The Unique Functions of Education in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1937), pp. 78-97.

[53] Educational Policies Commission, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1938).

work for educational conditions essential for the perpetuation of our democracy."[54] Although its influence upon elementary education has been largely incidental the "NEA Defense Commission," as it is usually termed, has affected instructional practices by defending elementary-school teachers against unfair treatment and unjust dismissal.[55] Defense of elementary education against unfair charges of teaching communism or of not teaching the three R's, and various other attacks, as well as striving for greater human understanding and brotherhood,[56] has aided in preservation of the integrity of classroom procedures.

Major contributions to the professionalizing of teaching have been made by the *National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards,* created by the NEA Representative Assembly in 1946 to carry on a continuing program of improvement for the profession in matters of teacher selection, preparation, certification, and professional standards, including standards for teacher-education institutions. Among its achievements have been the upgrading of professional standards, particularly in teacher certification; improvement of teacher welfare, through a professional salary policy widely adopted; sponsorship of nation-wide in-service teacher-education programs; strengthening of pre-service teacher-education programs; development of a professional accrediting process with united professional support. These are essential foundations if teaching is to be made a true profession. Teaching practices improve as the quality of instructional staffs improves—other factors being equal. Recognizable results have already been achieved by the commission through improved standards of preparation and certification for elementary teachers, better orientation and guidance programs, and the Supply-Demand Study. The latter has provided data resulting in increasing the number of persons choosing elementary-school teaching as a career.

Departments Directly Influencing Elementary Schools. The departments of the NEA are valuable sources of ideas and suggestions for improvements in instructional practices. Representing, as gration of the kindergarten with the elementary school. This has not always been successfully achieved, but whenever it has occurred, the methods used in the kindergarten—utilizing pupil interest and encouraging active participation—have strongly influenced procedures in the grades. Now, further extended by the National Kindergarten Association, practices used in kindergarten teaching have been among the main sources of influence in the development of modern elementary education.

---

[54] National Commission for the Defense of Democracy Through Education, *Defense Bulletin,* December, 1951, No. 41, pp. 1-2.

[55] As, for example, in the cases of North College Hill, Ohio, Mars Hill, N.C., Grand Prairie, Tex., New York, N.Y., et cetera. *Ibid.,* pp. 5-10.

[56] See, for example, *True Faith and Allegiance* (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1950).

Founded by a college physician in 1885 as the Association for the Advancement of Physical Education, named the American Physical Education Association in 1903, and assuming the name *American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation* in 1937, this group has developed increasingly active interest in elementary-school practices in the three areas suggested by its official title. The following contributions to wholesome instructional practices have been noteworthy: provision for sound and adequate programs based upon the needs, interests, and inherent capacities of the individual for his optimum development; provision of leadership in continued improvement of these programs; stimulation of active interest in health education; assistance in research and experimentation and dissemination of accurate information. Through sections established in each of the three elementary-school levels, its chief contribution may be persuasion of teachers that healthy, relaxed bodies are essential to efficient mental functioning of young learners.

Originally authorized by the NEA Board of Directors in 1907 as the Department of Rural and Agricultural Education, the present *Department of Rural Education* was established in 1919 through combination with three other groups: The National Association of State Supervisors and Inspectors of Rural Schools, the County Superintendents' section of the NEA, and the National Association of Persons Engaged in the Preparation of Rural Teachers. Changes in the activities of the department picture rather accurately the social, economic, and sociological shifts in American culture. Throughout those changes, the department has effectively focused attention on the needs of rural children and on meeting their special problems of education. Improved preparation of rural teachers, reorganization of rural school districts to provide more comprehensive educational programs, and leadership in professionalization of the county superintendency have been especially pertinent in their bearing upon elementary-school conditions.

The *Music Educators National Conference* developed from the Music Supervisors National Conference established in 1907. Its purposes are "to represent the interests of music and music teachers in the program of general education and to provide a medium of cooperative service to the members of the music education profession, to the schools and colleges, and to the patrons of the educational institutions." As with all of the aesthetics, cause and effect are difficult to separate and assess. However, the growth and influence of the organization has paralleled the development of the cultural aspects of general education. The cooperative interrelationships between the MENC and other departments, and between its members and other teachers have been mutually enriching. On the elementary-school classroom level, music specialists have been helpful in broadening the entire program, and their own work has been advanced by the general trends in educational practice. On the organizational level, the MENC maintains a close working liaison with the DESP and other NEA departments, of which the "Music Education" issue of *The National Elementary Principal* (Volume 30, Number 4, February, 1951) is a recent example.

The enduring patience of the rank and file of teachers—or, perhaps, their obedience to the Biblical injunction that "The meek shall inherit the earth"—is indicated by the fact that, as a group having special educational interests and problems, they remained officially voiceless for the first fifty-seven years of the organized activities of the NEA. The fact that the *Department of Classroom Teachers* was not organized until 1914 suggests, even more strongly than the quality of patience, the effects of low levels of preparation, uncertain tenure, high ratios of teacher replacement, inadequate salaries, and lack of professional commitment and recognition. Beginning with the first session, on July 8, 1914 (in St. Paul, Minnesota), the new department actively and hopefully began its program of action to remedy and eliminate the conditions which had so long handicapped them. Its meetings, committee work, and yearbooks soon began to contribute materially to more alert interest in the results of educational research, the improvement of conditions surrounding teaching, and the widespread application of effective instructional methods to all phases of the elementary-school program.

The *Speech Association of America* illustrates two trends in educational organization: the increasing breadth and diversity of interests and the increasing divisiveness resulting from the multiplicity of specializations in those various interests. Originating as the Public

Speaking section of the National Council of Teachers of English, this group withdrew in 1914 to organize the National Association of Academic Teachers of Public Speaking. In 1917 the name was changed to National Association of Teachers of Speech, and in 1945 the present name was adopted. The association has retained its affiliation with the NEA and performs valuable services in conducting speech clinics, studying speech disorders, and preparing teachers of speech for elementary schools. Those activities are resulting in improved understanding and treatment of children having speech disorders as well as in use of more valid procedures in the communication aspects of general instruction.

The National Association of Directors of Educational Research, organized in 1915, became the *American Educational Research Association*, a department of the NEA, in 1930. Its extensive influence upon elementary-school practice has been incidental to its major purposes: (1) to advance the status of educational research; (2) to raise the level of the insights, the methods, and the tools with which research is carried out; (3) to secure for its members certain advantages and opportunities which accrue through cooperative professional endeavor; (4) to encourage and promote the sound application of research procedures and research findings to educational problems; (5) to increase, through research, the contributions of education to human welfare. Relatively few elementary teachers engage in formal research or become members of the AERA. However, elementary-school instructional procedures are continually modified by its research summaries. These, covering the fields of education under fifteen topics, are reported in three-year cycles in the *Review of Educational Research*. This journal has become almost a reference manual for supervisors, directors of instruction, and alert teachers, and contributes to the continual modification of instructional methods.

The *National Association of Secondary-School Principals*, organized in 1916 to promote the best interests of secondary education and improve the profession, has inevitably influenced elementary education in carrying out its purposes. There was a time when elementary schools retained pupils indefinitely, if there was any question of their ability to pass algebra, Latin, and the other classical college-preparatory courses they would meet in high school. The association has aided in liberalizing all public education, making it more realistic and practical. Typical of its influences in these directions are its special studies in consumer education, the series of resource units, and such publications as *Planning for American Youth,* a program of education for secondary-school youth. Directly, it has been active in bringing the junior-high-school unit into school organization, a plan which results in a six-year elementary program.

The *Department of Elementary School Principals* was organized in 1921 to achieve greater effectiveness in improving elementary education by conferences, affording opportunities for interchange of ideas, providing professional materials, and developing standards. By those means, and especially by working with states on certification requirements for elementary principals, it has raised the status of the principalship. Higher standards for the elementary-school principalship have resulted in more effective professional leadership and in improvement of organization and instructional practices. "As goes the principal, so goes the school" is the adage of particular import to the elementary school. Exchange of ideas is facilitated by the official publication, *The National Elementary Principal.* By reporting the results of research, describing experimental results, condensing major ideas in special subject fields, describing successful public relations programs, et cetera, their journal and regular conferences enable principals to keep abreast of current professional thought and to translate it into practice in the classrooms of their schools.

Constructive leadership in the professionalized treatment of subject matter, to make instructional procedures consistent with new understandings of the learning process, has been provided by the *National Council for the Social Studies* since its organization in 1921. Its major purposes are: to promote study of the problems of teaching the social studies at all grade levels; to encourage research and experimentation in these fields; to facilitate the cooperation of its members; to hold public discussions and programs; to publish pertinent materials; to integrate the efforts of others with similar purposes. Studies and reports of committees and commissions, meetings, and a publications program have contributed to effective solution of problems of curriculum materials and content as well as methods of instruction. It may be remembered that the first step toward the modern integrated program, in terms of special subjects, was the correlation of geography and history into topic units utilizing related material from both fields of study.

Greater understanding of individual differences among children and the effect of such differences upon the personality and over-all development of children inevitably humanizes the treatment accorded them. This has been the great contribution of the *International Council for Exceptional Children.* Organized in 1922 as the International Council for the Education of Exceptional Children, its broader concern was indicated by dropping the three qualifying words in 1933. Constructive influences upon practices in teaching all children have resulted from such council aims as the following: recognition of the effects of speech defects, mental retardation, or other exceptional characteristics upon the child; improvement in the attitude of educators and the public toward such children; improvement in physical facilities and physiological environment; better opportunities for proper child growth and development.

Established in 1923 as the Department of Visual Instruction and strengthened in 1932 when the Visual Instruction Association of the United States merged with it, the *Department of Audio-Visual Instruction* assumed its present name in 1947. The department has developed a broadly conceived program for advancing the audio-visual field through improvement of professional standards and unifying the efforts of educational leaders in solving common problems. Practices in the elementary school have been modified as a result of the department's work in increasing the attention given skills and information about audio-visual instructional materials in teacher-education programs. The publication of descriptions of such materials in *Educational Screen* provides helpful suggestions for immediate classroom application. Instructional practices are being vitalized through the use of films and film strips, slides, models, bulletin boards, et cetera, as the scope of such teaching aids is broadened—owing in considerable measure to DAVI.

Such culturally and socially valuable contributions as the encouragement of professional attitudes toward art education, implementing improvement in the teaching of art, and promotion of policies favorable to the arts typify the functions of the *National Art Education Association.* Originally organized in 1933 as the Department of Art of the NEA, its influence was broadened by reorganization in 1947 as a number of regional art associations affiliated with it under the present name, Eastern Arts Association, Pacific Arts Association, Southeastern Arts Association, Western Arts Association). The NAEA influences elementary-school practices in many ways. First, of course, is its aid in developing a clearer understanding of the function of art in the general education program of all people.

It has been a constructive force in gaining a more important place for art in the elementary-school curriculum. Especially important is its help in the gradual diffusion of ideas and understanding of the artistic qualities of experience throughout the elementary-school program.

Signifying the shift in emphasis from "handcraft" and "arts and crafts" to higher levels of appreciation of the role of industrial arts in personal development and modern society is the establishment of the *American Industrial Arts Association* as a department of the NEA in 1939 and its subsequent development. It has contributed to changes in elementary-school practices most directly through improvement in preparation of special teachers of industrial arts, increasing the number of classroom teachers having special courses in this field, and promoting greater understanding of the role of industrial arts in the modern integrated curriculum.

It may be said, with much justification, that the influence of the *Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development* is in inverse ratio to its age. The present organization, formed in 1943 by the merger of the Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction (NEA) and the Society for Curriculum Study, has pursued a comprehensive goal: "The object of the Association shall be the general improvement of instruction and supervision; more particularly, the promotion of teacher growth in three major areas, namely: the area of wholesome emotional and mental development, the area of socio-economic understanding and adjustment, and the area of professional competence."[62] The nature of the influence of the ASCD upon practices in the elementary school—as well as the secondary school—is perhaps best indicated by the following official statement of the beliefs of the association:

> We believe that modern schools can do their job *only if* . . .
> — pupils, teachers, and administrators grow in understanding what life is all about.
> — everyone has a chance to test for himself what is important and what isn't.
> — youngsters learn by making choices and seeing how they work.
> — youngsters have a chance to think and talk about our social structure and decide how it may be improved.

---

[62] Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, Constitution.

- — what happens in the school is determined by what boys and girls need individually and in groups, now and tomorrow.
- — the curriculum—what boys and girls do in school—has meaning and significance for the youngsters.
- — all community agencies, including our homes and schools, work together for better education.
- — there is mutual respect and confidence as we work together to improve our schools.
- — school programs are continually being weighed and improved in the light of tested ways of working.
- — parents and citizens are helped to understand what their youngsters need to learn and how it can be taught.
- — state and federal aid goes to communities which cannot pay for good schools.

REFERENCES

CUBBERLEY, ELLWOOD P., *The History of Education*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920.

DEPARTMENT OF SUPERINTENDENCE, *The Elementary School Curriculum*. Washington, D.C.: The Department, 1924.

———, *Research in Constructing the Elementary School Curriculum*. Washington, D.C.: The Department, 1925.

———, *The Nation at Work on the Public School Curriculum*. Washington, D.C.: The Department, 1926.

EDUCATIONAL POLICIES COMMISSION, *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1938.

———, *The Unique Functions of Education in American Democracy*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1938.

FLEXNER, ABRAHAM, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada*. New York: The Carnegie Foundation, 1910.

FUESS, CLAUDE M., *The College Board: Its First Fifty Years*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950.

GOOD, H. G., *A History of Western Education*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947.

HARDING, LOWRY W. (COMP.), *Anthology in Educology*. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Company, 1951.

MARTIN, GEORGE H., *The Evolution of the Massachusetts Public-School System*. New York: The Appleton Company, n.d.

MEYER, ADOLPH E., *The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, *Addresses and Proceedings*. Washington, D.C.: The Association. Various issues.

———, *NEA Handbook, 1951-52.* Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1951.

———, *Report of the Committee of Ten on Secondary School Studies.* New York: American Book Company, 1894.

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION, *Fourteenth Yearbook*, Part I. Chicago: The Society, 1915.

———, *Sixteenth Yearbook*, Part I. Chicago: The Society, 1917.

———, *Seventeenth Yearbook*, Part I. Chicago: The Society, 1918.

———, *Eighteenth Yearbook*, Part II. Chicago: The Society, 1919.

NOCK, ALBERT J., *The Theory of Education in the United States.* Chicago: Henry Regnery and Company, 1949.

SMITH, MORTIMER, *And Madly Teach.* Chicago: Henry Regnery and Company, 1949.

CHAPTER IX

Influences of Commissions, Committees, and Organizations upon the Development of Elementary Education (Continued)[1]

MANY professional groups not officially affiliated with the NEA include the elementary school within their spheres of activity. Some of these work exclusively at the elementary-school level, some are concerned with education at all levels, and others are devoted to special subjects or problems which affect the elementary school. Twenty-seven organizations have been selected as representative of these various sources of influence. For convenience of the reader, they have been grouped within five classifications suggesting their major interests.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF REPRESENTATIVE INDEPENDENT PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DIRECTLY CONCERNED WITH ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

STATE EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS. Although they receive little national publicity because of the nature of their work, the state associations exercise strong and direct influence upon the public schools. Their membership has personal as well as professional interest in the state organization, their officers are close to state problems, and their journals carry articles by teachers known personally to many members. These are some of the reasons that such organizations are important factors in the improvement of the elementary school.

It seems historically appropriate to begin a discussion of state organizations with Massachusetts, because it was the source of such distinguished leadership during the establishment of the free elementary school as an accepted social institution. Perhaps the thorough acceptance of public education resulting from the work of

---

[1] This chapter was written by Lowry W. Harding, The Ohio State University.

Horace Mann and others explains the fact that only in 1911 was the state professional organization, the *Massachusetts Teachers Federation*, established. Since its establishment it has influenced elementary education through encouraging teacher cooperation on a state-wide basis, collected and published useful materials, and tested ideas by research.

The midwest is well represented by the *Ohio Education Association*, organized in 1847 as the Ohio State Teachers Association and taking its present name in 1928. Professional concern for education is indicated by its statement that: "The purpose of this organization shall be to promote the interests of public education; to advance the standards of the teaching profession; to help secure the conditions necessary to the greatest efficiency of teachers and schools." The chief contributions of the OEA to public education have been its efforts in school financing and making teaching more attractive professionally. The enactment of the school foundation law in Ohio and its subsequent improvements have provided more than a billion dollars of state support since 1935. The teacher retirement law, a contract law, a minimum salary schedule law, and a sick leave law have greatly improved teacher status in Ohio. In addition to these developments, the elementary-school program has been aided by a certification law establishing relatively high standards of preparation for teachers in the elementary grades, emphasis upon a sound program of curriculum revision, and development of in-service professional education programs.

The *Texas State Teachers Association*, formed in 1880 by union of North Texas State Teachers Association (1877) and Austin Teachers Association (1879), has improved elementary education tremendously through the combined influence of its 51,700 members. In 1949, for example, TSTA was instrumental in securing adoption of a minimum foundation program guaranteeing public schools one classroom unit for each approximate group of twenty-five pupils in average daily attendance, plus supervisors and special service teachers (librarians, visiting teachers, school nurses, itinerant teachers, and, as a special class, school physicians) on a total enrollment basis. It sponsored an act to provide multiple choice of textbooks and instructional materials in elementary schools, aided in securing passage of legislation reorganizing the state department of education to provide for an elected state board and appointive commissioner, and promoted extension of the Division of Curriculum and Standards of the State Department. Each of these achievements aided the elementary school considerably. Together, they constitute extensive improvements in instructional efficiency.

The *Virginia Education Association*, established in 1902 as the Virginia State Teachers Association and assuming its present title in 1925, has continuously worked to "improve the quality of the teaching provided the boys and girls of Virginia." In addition to working for financial improvements, the VEA has improved the ethics and standards of the profession and sponsored conferences for lay and professional people to interpret the schools to the public. Cooperative efforts with the teachers colleges to provide sound professional preparation, and with local school units to improve the curriculum have resulted in the placing of greater emphasis upon the wholesome development of the individual child. Because of these activities, teachers are doing a better job of interpreting the school program to the public, a factor which inevitably results in further improvement of educational practices.

ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE TEACHING OF SPECIAL SUBJECTS. The *National Council of Teachers of English*, dedicated to improvement of the teaching of English in the schools at all levels in the United States, has worked consistently to achieve that purpose since its organization in 1911. Its chief contributions have been "inspiring and guiding such teaching of listening, speaking, reading, writing as will contribute to personal development and make individuals happy persons, efficient workers, and good citizens." Dissemination of such ideas about teaching, through the magazine *Elementary English* and by means of pamphlets and monographs, results in continuous and widespread stimulation for improved instruction.

The *National Council of Teachers of Mathematics*, founded in 1920 and incorporated under laws of the state of Illinois in 1928, endeavors "to promote the interests of mathematics in America and to improve the teaching of mathematics on the elementary, secondary, and junior college levels." The council contributes to the improvement of instruction in its field through its magazine *Mathematics Teacher*, yearbooks dealing with significant problems in mathematics education, research by committees, and various booklets and pamphlets. Specific influence upon elementary-school practices has resulted as the council has been instrumental in encouraging application of the "meaning" theory in the teaching of arithmetic. The NCTM has recently affiliated with the National Education Association.

The *National Council for Elementary Science* began its existence as the National Council of Supervisors of Science. Organized in 1924, this group influenced elementary-school practices directly, through supervisory functions of its members. It also worked to improve programs of professional teacher preparation in science. Reorganized in 1938 with the present name and expanded membership, it accepted as its purposes: "To promote a science curriculum for the elementary grades which will be a part of the continuous and integrated science program for the entire school system; to promote study of and research in problems involved in the methods of instruction of science for the elementary school; to further the pre-service and in-service education of teachers of elementary science." It may be hoped that these purposes are achieved, for it is amazingly inconsistent, in these United States in the mid-twentieth century, that science occupies so small a place in so many schools. Fortunately, this organization is growing steadily in strength and influence.

ORGANIZATIONS FOR EDUCATION OF EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN. The *Convention of American Instructors of the Deaf,* established in 1850, adopted the motto "Any method for good results. All methods and wedded to none." Using this eclectic philosophy, it has tested all known methods for education of the deaf. Through such work, the importance of multisensory aids and a "total approach" in all teaching has been emphasized. Special methods of instruction found to be successful have gradually aroused attention to other phases of education for the handicapped and probably influenced the broadening of conventional school programs as well.

The education of the blind during the nineteenth century brought conclusive evidence to the public that handicapped people could be educated and trained into useful occupations. The *American Association of Instructors of the Blind,* established in 1853 as American Instructors of the Blind and changing its name in 1872, contributed much of that evidence. Through improving methods of teaching blind children, this association has contributed indirectly to adoption of functional methods in many elementary schools.

The *National Society for the Prevention of Blindness, Incorporated,* beginning its work in 1908 as the New York State Committee, has contributed to elementary education through a comprehensive plan including:

1. Better teacher preparation and practices regarding all aspects of vision and visual environment.
2. Improved visual environment for all children (movable, adjustable furniture; modified decoration; better lighting; et cetera).
3. Provision of facilities for partially seeing children in 248 cities, representing 37 states, the District of Columbia, and the Territory of Hawaii.
4. Development of special materials for use with the partially seeing children; special maps; large-type typewriters; large chalk and pencils; large-type books, special chalkboards, et cetera.
5. Improvement in reading materials used by all children: better paper, size and style of type, quality of illustration, et cetera.
6. Improved vision screening techniques and programs.
7. Promotion of better safety programs in schools, especially as these have a bearing upon eye safety.

The *American Hearing Society*, organized in 1919 as the American Association for the Hard of Hearing, functions as an information center on problems of defective hearing; works to improve the educational, economic, and social conditions among both adults and children whose hearing is impaired; and stimulates scientific research on conservation of hearing and prevention of deafness. Its impressive contributions to public education include: organizing the first national committee on hard of hearing children in 1924, instigating development of the phonograph audiometer which led to group testing of hearing in schools, presenting the first film on the problems of the hard of hearing child, establishing National Hearing Week in 1927, and preparing and placing in libraries of universities and medical schools helpful material on the problems of deafness. Because of such contributions and the influence of the society, active programs in hearing conservation have been initiated in many elementary schools. These provide for hearing tests, medical diagnosis and treatment when indicated, and special education of hard of hearing children. The society's promotion of use of hearing aids, the study of lip reading, auditory training, and speech correction has also resulted in modification of school practices.

The *American Speech and Hearing Association* has worked, since its origin in 1925 as the American Academy of Speech Correction, "to encourage basic scientific study of the processes of individual human speech and hearing, promote investigation of speech and hearing disorders, and foster improvements of therapeutic procedures with such disorders; to stimulate exchange of information among persons thus engaged, and to disseminate such information." As a by-product of its program, the association has contributed to making the general attitude toward handicapped persons more sensitive. This, with increased insight into the place of speech and hearing in the whole educative process, is resulting in greater flexibility of teaching procedures and achievement standards.

The long and serious neglect of the gifted child, from whom will come the chief contributions to progress, is being remedied by the *American Association for Gifted Children, Incorporated*, organized in 1946 to develop ways of identifying gifted children and to stimulate creative work with them, fostering appreciation of their capabilities and promoting plans to further their interests. If one may define the gifted child as one whose performance, in any potentially valuable type of human activity, is consistently noteworthy, then the waste of ability and consequent loss to the country as well as to the individual is tragic. Through national programs, articles, and especially their recent book, *The Gifted Child* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1951), the public elementary school is being influenced to broaden and enrich its program to provide interesting challenges for superior pupils.

ORGANIZATIONS FOR MENTAL AND PHYSICAL HEALTH. Following an early slogan, "The most important link in the National Public Health chain is the classroom teacher," the *American School Health Association*'s first accomplishment was to obtain certain standards in health education for the accrediting of colleges in the American Association of Teachers Colleges. Since its organization in 1917 as the American Association of School Physicians (taking its present name in 1937) the association has provided a working organization for all professional groups in school health: physicians, dentists, nurses, nutritionists, health education teachers, and health supervisors. Attainment of its object, "to promote comprehensive and constructive school health programs, including the teaching of health, health services and healthful school living," inevitably provides constructive influences upon the elementary-school program.

The *National Association of School Social Workers,* organized in 1919 as American Association of Visiting Teachers, and incorporated in Minnesota in 1945 under the present name, operates to develop and improve the quality of case-work service in the schools. As it promotes understanding of the nature and importance of its work, stimulates community interest in providing case-work service, and compiles information on case-work practice, the association makes direct contributions to elementary education. Better understanding of children and parents with problems, realization that curriculums must be adjusted to children, and emphasis upon social adjustment are only a few of the results.

The *National Health Council*, organized in 1921 as a central service organization for national voluntary health agencies and professional societies, included forty-two member groups in 1952. Its indirect influence upon public education in the discharge of its functions may be suggested by the following excerpts from its statement of aims.

> The council recognizes that the primary responsibility for health protection rests upon an alert and informed public. Each individual must be prepared to apply, in his own behalf, sound principles of personal and community hygiene. Health education—not only the dissemination of health information but the motivation of the public for healthful living—is an essential function of the council. . . .
>
> Second only to this, the health of all citizens depends upon the protection provided by official, tax-supported local, state and national health agencies. Therefore, a fundamental part of the council's program is the promotion of better services by these official bodies.[2]

The *American Association of Psychiatric Clinics for Children* was established in 1944 "To provide for the coordination of the activities of psychiatric clinics serving children in the United States and its territories; To help maintain the highest possible standards of clinic practice," and to achieve similar goals. In carrying on such activities as may advance the field of child psychiatry, staffs of member clinics confer with teachers about school children who are clinic patients. Consultation is often offered at the school's request on children who are not patients. Psychiatric clinics for children consider their functions to be the evaluation and treatment of emotional problems (in children and their parents), but also offer a program of training and research and take an active part in mental health education and community planning. Elementary schools in communities influenced by the work of such clinics may expect more understanding of developmental and integrative curricular emphasis than do less fortunate schools.

---

[2] *The National Health Council: What It Is; What It Does* (1790 Broadway, New York 19: The Council, n.d. [1952]), p. 4 (of 8 unnumbered pages).

The *National Association for Mental Health, Incorporated* came into existence in 1950, through consolidation of the National Committee for Mental Health, Incorporated, the National Mental Health Foundation, and the Psychiatric Foundation. The purpose of the organization is "To promote good mental health, to prevent mental and emotional illness, and to speed the day when any person who becomes mentally and emotionally ill will have the best possible chance to get well." The imperative significance of this purpose may be communicated by the following statement:

> *But what of our mental health?*
>
> Mental and emotional illness fills half our hospital beds. And it's not there alone that we feel it. Its effects are all around us.
>
> In murders and sex crimes and suicides. . . . In delinquency, drug addiction. . . . In broken homes, alcoholism, divorce. . . . In school failure, job failure and business failure.
>
> And in the unnamed misery of the neurotic millions we meet in everyday life—the people whose capacity to live and create is crippled by self-doubt and fear.
>
> One out of every 12 people suffers a severe mental illness sometime during his life. A much greater proportion need treatment for less serious mental or emotional disorders. Of the millions needing help today, only thousands are getting it.[3]

The association has helped teachers and school administrators to recognize mental health needs of children; to modify school practices and curriculums so that they will foster the mental health of each child; and to use mental health services for the early detection and treatment of emotional disturbances. The association has also published and distributed pamphlets, journals, dramatic sketches, and lists of selected materials for use in in-service training programs and teacher workshops, as well as in the classroom. Of these, the leaflet *Mental Health Is . . . 1, 2, 3,* the quarterly journal *Understanding the Child,* and the twenty-page comic booklet *Blondie,* on family relationships, have been especially popular among teachers and parents.

ORGANIZATIONS FOR COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS.[4] Need to coordinate the services which educational institutions and organizations could contribute to the government in the national crisis brought on by World War I resulted in the establishment of the *American Council on Education* in 1918. Since membership is by organization or institution rather than by individual, influence upon a specific establishment (such as the elementary school) is largely indirect. As a center of cooperation of national educational groups (1125 in January, 1952),[5] the council has had a definite influence in the shaping of American educational policies and the formulation of educational practices. Over the years its numerous committees and commissions have issued reports in such areas as teacher education, religion and education, intergroup understanding, international education, tests and measurements, and educational television. In these and other areas the materials presented and recommendations made have affected policy as well as practices[6] in the elementary school.

---

[3] *This Is NAMH* (1790 Broadway, New York 19: The Association, 1952), p. 6 (of 6 unnumbered pages in a 3-fold bulletin).

[4] Note: Organizations included in this section are in alphabetical order.

The *American Education Fellowship* has been one of the most thought-provoking forces in American education and has made major contributions to reform of educational methods and liberalizing the curriculum to make it more fluid and creative. Organized in Washington, D.C., in 1919 as the Progressive Education Association (becoming the American Education Fellowship section of the New World Fellowship, an international organization, in 1944) and originally composed chiefly of private schools, it immediately declared seven principles: (1) there must be freedom to develop naturally; (2) interest is the motive of all work; (3) the teacher is a guide, not a taskmaster; (4) scientific study must be made of pupil development; (5) increased attention must be given to factors affecting the child's physical development; (6) cooperation between the school and the home is necessary to meet the needs of child life; (7) progressive schools must be leaders in educational movements.[7] Adopting the ideas of organismic psychology some twenty years later, it took the challenge of developing workable methodology, applying such age-old principles of learning as: it must be based on sensory experience; it requires response to situations; it is a process of growth; it involves emotional concomitants; important corollary effects result from learning and must be anticipated and considered; learning necessitates reorganization or integration; the organism or personality acts as a whole.[8]

---

[5] American Council on Education, *A Brief History, 1918-1952* (Washington, D.C.: The Council, 1952), p. 7.

[6] For example, American Council on Education, *Adventures in Aviation Education* (Washington, D.C.: The Council, 1951).

[7] Progressive Education Association, *Progressive Education Advances* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1938), pp. 5-6.

Early emphasis on the child—more respect for his interests, greater freedom, better stimulation of initiative, more opportunity for his natural development—shifted in the 1930's, as a result of criticism and the depression, to problems of social reconstruction. Typical of the ironic fact that criticism comes from all sides when thinking has been stimulated are the following attacks on the PEA's social policy from directly opposite positions. Counts charged that, like education in the United States generally, "it has elaborated no theory of social welfare, unless it be that of anarchy or extreme individualism."[9] On the opposite side, Kandel pointed out that for more than a decade the leaders of Progressive Education had "been vociferous advocates of individualism, the new freedom, the child-centered school and the sanctity of the child's ego—in a word, of *laissez faire* in education" and now, moving to the opposite extreme, were urging "social reconstruction through the school with an emphasis on planning, cooperation and collective will."[10]

Despite this schism, the association developed a strong program of experimentation and research. Among its subgroups whose work influenced elementary education were the Committee on Progressive Education in Rural Schools, Committee on Community School Relations, Commission on Educational Freedom, Commission on Intercultural Education, Commission on Human Relations, and Commission on Relation of School and College. The last-named group directed the elaborate and penetrating Eight-Year Study[11] (including the school sessions 1930-1931 through 1938-1939), which sought a dispassionate answer to the question, "Is it possible for secondary schools to provide an education that gives sound preparation for the demands of their pupils' present and future lives, and is flexible enough to fit their widely differing personal needs, and that does this without handicapping those who continue their study in college?" The findings were affirmative. Thus, although conducted in the secondary school, this experiment was highly significant for elementary education, providing an additional basis for freeing the elementary school from high-school domination. The reasoning was that, if there is no fixed pattern in curriculum that is the necessary preparation for advanced study, the same should be true for the elementary school in relation to preparing children for high-school work.

---

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

[9] George Counts, *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* (New York: The John Day Company, 1932), p. 6.

[10] I. L. Kandel, "Education and Social Disorder," *Teachers College Record*, February, 1933.

[11] Sometimes termed the "Thirty-School Experiment." Comprehensive reports were published through Harper & Brothers in 1942 and 1943 under the general title *Adventures in American Education*. Included are: *The Story of the Eight-Year Study*, by W. M. Aiken; *Exploring the Curriculum*, by S. P. McCutchen, H. H. Giles, and A. N. Zechiel; *Appraising and Recording Student Progress*, by E. R. Smith, R. W. Tyler, *et al.*; *Did They Succeed in College?* by Dean Chamberlain; and *Thirty Schools Tell Their Story*, by Members of the School Staffs.

Throughout its career, the American Education Fellowship has devoted attention to improving materials and methods of teaching. It contributed to development of procedures for pupil participation in deciding topics for study, use of educational trips, integrative classroom activities, and the project method. The basic principle that true learning is an active process has been advanced and popularized in such phrases as "Learning by doing" and "The child learns as he lives and lives as he learns." The official magazine, *Progressive Education*, begun in 1924 to aid in exchanging information on methods and in disseminating ideas of educational significance, continues under the original name as one of the influential professional journals.

The *American Library Association*, established in 1876, has continuously contributed to the improvement of education at all levels by increasing the use and usefulness of books. Its major purposes are: adult education through libraries; library service for children and young people; larger units of library organization; state aid to libraries; professional library education and personnel administration; international library service; library resources for research; audio-visual materials. It has contributed directly to the expansion and enrichment of educational experiences in the elementary school by developing standards for school libraries and by planning library service for elementary schools.

The *Association for Childhood Education International* was created in 1930 by reorganization of the International Kindergarten Union (established in 1892) and enlarged in 1931 when the National Council for Primary Education (established in 1915) merged with it. The term "International" was added to the title in 1946, and interest in the intermediate grade level was announced. As now constituted, the ACEI is an organization whose purpose is: "To work for the education and well-being of children; To promote desirable conditions, programs and practices in the schools—nursery through elementary; To raise the standard of preparation and to encourage continued professional growth of teachers and leaders in this field; To bring into active cooperation all groups concerned with children in the school, the school, and the community; To inform the public of the needs of children and how the school program must be adjusted to fit those needs." In pursuing this five-fold purpose, the ACEI biennially adopts a "Plan of Action" developed from communications with members upon the most urgent needs of children. Study conferences, special committee work, and numerous useful publications enable the association to maintain close touch with elementary-school practices in meeting children's needs.

The *Commission on Life Adjustment Education for Youth* might appear out of place in a discussion or organizations influencing elementary-school practices—until one realizes that, in seeking answers to such questions as why youth drop out of school, the search often involves school experiences as early as the second or third grade! The first commission was appointed for a three-year term in 1947; a second in 1950. Based in the Secondary Schools Section of the United States Office of Education and concerned especially with secondary-school youth, the commission's work aids elementary education by arousing general interest in more personalized education, suggesting curricular adjustments to meet pupil's real life needs, and comprehensive integration of school programs.

The *John Dewey Society* originated through the ideas of a small group of pioneer thinkers on educational, social, and economic problems who organized the John Dewey Society for the Study of Education and Culture in 1935 in New York. The organization has grown as its activities have attracted national recognition. Believing that "education has an important, even strategic, role to play in the reconstruction of American Society," it has consistently devoted its attention to broad problems of general social import. For example, the lead article in the first issue of its magazine, *The Social Frontier* (founded as the group was organized, transferred to the PEA in 1939, which changed its name to *Frontiers of Democracy* and discontinued it at the end of 1943), was an article by John Dewey, "Can Education Share in Social Reconstruction?" Its series of important yearbooks have contributed to arousing school people from their traditional complacency about social concerns. Of special import for elementary education have been *The Teacher and Society* (first yearbook, 1937), *Democracy and the Curriculum* (1939), *The Public Schools and Spiritual Values* (1944), and *Intercultural Attitudes in the Making* (1947). It may be hoped that the present volume will be added to such a list.

Few teachers in the elementary schools have participated actively in the work of the John Dewey Society, owing to the fact that it has not dealt with "pedagogical minutiae" of instructional methods and materials. Nevertheless, the elementary school has been extensively influenced, indirectly, through the interest and discussion aroused from the society's consideration of social issues and problems of universal concern.

The *National Association for Nursery Education,* established in 1926, directs its efforts primarily to the advancement and encouragement of nursery education, usually preceding the public-school years. By such means as operation of nursery schools in child-care centers during World War II, development of pamphlet materials which have also been used by kindergarten teachers, and cooperation of nursery schools with kindergarten groups in many communities, the association has stimulated a better understanding of both the needs of young children and the ways in which early childhood experiences contribute to later development. These understandings inevitably influence public attitudes toward the elementary school and its work.

The *National Kindergarten Association,* beginning in 1909 as the National Association for the Promotion of Kindergarten Education, Incorporated, changed to its present corporate name in 1911. Pursuing its major purpose of securing the establishment of kindergartens, staffed by properly prepared teachers, in all school systems throughout the United States, the association has been the direct means of securing establishment of 3260 kindergartens (as of May 16, 1952, by statement of the Executive Secretary) and indirectly of thousands more.

Kindergarten experience tends to reduce retardation, the dislike of school, and delinquency, and provides a foundation for all later school work. (For example, one experiment over a twenty-five-year period has shown that pupils having kindergarten experience ranked from 25 per cent to 33⅓ per cent higher scholastically at the end of grade twelve than did those not having kindergarten.[12]) As the association increases public understanding of such values of kindergarten, it contributes to clearer comprehension of the learning process, the basic purposes of all schooling, and the pedagogical methods used in more advanced grades. Its weekly articles on child behavior problems, sent free of charge (since 1917) to the press and to state and county home demonstration and extension agents, have clarified understanding of school problems and procedures. The current emphasis upon reducing abstractions to concretions, in all subjects throughout the grades, results in no small measure from the influence of sound kindergarten procedures.

When Johann Friedrich Herbart died in 1841, his ideas had attracted little attention. Accepting Pestalozzi's principle that the most effective learning proceeds from the known to the unknown, Herbart had termed that process "apperception," and developed the principle that good teaching must start with the interests of the child. Theorizing that attention to study was of two types, forced and spontaneous, he formulated specific procedures for securing the latter in teaching. These became the famous "five formal steps" of preparation, presentation, association (or comparison and abstraction), generalization, and application. A group of Americans, studying at Jena in the 1880's, accepted Herbart's then popular ideas. Returning to the United States, they established the National Herbart Society in 1892 to continue study of Herbart's doctrines, such as apperception, interest, the "formal steps," correlation, and education as a social and moral force. As weaknesses were recognized in faculty psychology and ideas of the "apperceptive mass," the organization in 1902 changed its name to the *National Society for the Study of Education* and broadened its purposes to include all aspects of the subject.

In its quietly distinguished career, the NSSE has influenced American education on all levels. Elementary-school organizations, teaching practices, and materials of instruction have reflected the findings and recommendations of many of its yearbooks. These provide a rather accurate index of the major emphasis in education's progress. For example, the survey movement (1914), curriculum reorganization (1923), the activity movement (1934), the scientific movement (1938), child development (1939), and relationships between learning and teaching (1950) were the subjects of yearbooks in the years indicated. Each marked a high point of special interest and provided help in specific problems. Specific subject-matter fields are studied periodically, with resulting modifications in instructional content and methods. The subjects most recently treated in the yearbooks have been arithmetic (1951), reading (1949), science (1947), and art (1941). Typical of the influence of the NSSE studies is the *Twenty-Sixth Yearbook.*[13] Its authors accepted the idea of social change as basic to curriculum development and favored a society-centered emphasis in the curriculum. This laid the foundation for integration of the formerly separate child-centered, subject-centered, and society-centered principles, the fruits of which were visible in the pioneer state-wide curriculum revision programs of the 1930's.

---

[12] Conroe Independent School District, Conroe, Texas. Data reported by Hulon N. Anderson, Superintendent, in letter dated November 6, 1948, to Bessie Locke, Executive Secretary, National Kindergarten Association.

REPRESENTATIVE COROLLARY ORGANIZATIONS CONTRIBUTING TO ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL PRACTICES

A number of organizations have developed as a direct consequence of the growth of the American system of free public elementary schools, as, for example, the United States Office of Education and the PTA. Some groups, such as the American Red Cross and the National Safety Council, have modified their operations in terms of relationships with the elementary school. Many organizations affect the elementary school, directly or indirectly, as a result of work in their own various spheres of activity. Examples are found among philanthropic foundations, character-building recreational organizations, welfare agencies, and business and professional groups. Since the total number of these several kinds is quite large, a small sampling of twenty-five is included, arranged in eight categories. These are illustrative of the variety of influences upon the elementary school from organizations which are of it but not within it.

GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS. Among governmental agencies influencing elementary education one thinks first of the *Office of Education,* both because of its location within the federal government and because of its age. Established by the national government in 1867 as the Federal Department of Education, to promote education by collecting and disseminating information, later called the Bureau of Education and since 1933 the Office of Education, it serves all education through fundamental research studies such as the *Biennial Survey of Education*. These are of incalculable value in identifying trends in school populations at various grade levels, planning for educational facilities, predicting needs for teachers, and the like. The Office of Education contributes directly to the improvement of school practices in a variety of ways, such as holding regional and national meetings on problems of general concern, issuing reports providing information of national interest, and providing staff members as consultants on various topics. Its series of bulletins interpreting modern professional practice in teaching various subjects[14] are specifically applicable in elementary-school classrooms and contribute to greater uniformity and efficiency of practice throughout the nation.

---

[13] National Society for the Study of Education, *Twenty-Sixth Yearbook*, Part I, "Curriculum-making: Past and Present"; Part II, "The Foundations of Curriculum-making" (Chicago: The Society, 1927).

Included under "Governmental Organizations" because its members are largely in state and local governments, the *National League to Promote School Attendance* has long operated in ways beneficial to elementary schools. Established in 1911 as the National League of Compulsory Education Officials, its change to the present name in 1936 signifies the wholesome change in social and educational point of view from the ancient negative approach to the modern constructive emphasis in dealing with children's problems. The object of the organization is to: "promote the education, attendance and social welfare of the children of the United States and the Dominion of Canada; to encourage an active cooperation between the administrative personnel and workers in attendance, education and pupil adjustment departments in public service; to cooperate with organizations or citizens interested in the intellectual, moral and protective welfare of the pupil personnel." This group has contributed to education through improved legislative means for keeping children in school; improved qualifications and training for pupil personnel staffs; encouraged use of case-work techniques in pupil personnel work; and classified and strengthened cooperative relationships between service agencies and the school. Actual instructional practices in the school have been modified as the league has lent its reorganization (1923), the activity movement (1934), the scientific movement (1938), child development (1939), and relationships between learning and teaching (1950) were the subjects of yearbooks in the years indicated. Each marked a high point of special interest and provided help in specific problems. Specific subject-matter fields are studied periodically, with resulting modifications in instructional content and methods. The subjects most recently treated in the yearbooks have been arithmetic (1951), reading (1949), science (1947), and art (1941). Typical of the influence of the NSSE studies is the *Twenty-Sixth Yearbook*.[13] Its authors accepted the idea of social change as basic to curriculum development and favored a society-centered emphasis in the curriculum. This laid the foundation for integration of the formerly separate child-centered, subject-centered, and society-centered principles, the fruits of which were visible in the pioneer state-wide curriculum revision programs of the 1930's.

---

[14] Recent examples are: *The Place of Subjects in the Curriculum*, Bulletin, 1949, No. 12; *How Children Use Arithmetic*, Bulletin, 1951, No. 7; *How Children Learn to Think*, Bulletin, 1951, No. 10.

REPRESENTATIVE COROLLARY ORGANIZATIONS CONTRIBUTING TO ELEMENTARY-SCHOOL PRACTICES

A number of organizations have developed as a direct consequence of the growth of the American system of free public elementary schools, as, for example, the United States Office of Education and the PTA. Some groups, such as the American Red Cross and the National Safety Council, have modified their operations in terms of relationships with the elementary school. Many organizations affect the elementary school, directly or indirectly, as a result of work in their own various spheres of activity. Examples are found among philanthropic foundations, character-building recreational organizations, welfare agencies, and business and professional groups. Since the total number of these several kinds is quite large, a small sampling of twenty-five is included, arranged in eight categories. These are illustrative of the variety of influences upon the elementary school from organizations which are of it but not within it.

GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS. Among governmental agencies influencing elementary education one thinks first of the *Office of Education*, both because of its location within the federal government and because of its age. Established by the national government in 1867 as the Federal Department of Education, to promote education by collecting and disseminating information, later called the Bureau of Education and since 1933 the Office of Education, it serves all education through fundamental research studies such as the *Biennial Survey of Education*. These are of incalculable value in identifying trends in school populations at various grade levels, planning for educational facilities, predicting needs for teachers, and the like. The Office of Education contributes directly to the improvement of school practices in a variety of ways, such as holding regional and national meetings on problems of general concern, issuing reports providing information of national interest, and providing staff members as consultants on various topics. Its series of bulletins interpreting modern professional practice in teaching various subjects[14] are specifically applicable in elementary-school classrooms and contribute to greater uniformity and efficiency of practice throughout the nation.

---

[13] National Society for the Study of Education, *Twenty-Sixth Yearbook*, Part I, "Curriculum-making: Past and Present"; Part II, "The Foundations of Curriculum-making" (Chicago: The Society, 1927).

Included under "Governmental Organizations" because its members are largely in state and local governments, the *National League to Promote School Attendance* has long operated in ways beneficial to elementary schools. Established in 1911 as the National League of Compulsory Education Officials, its change to the present name in 1936 signifies the wholesome change in social and educational point of view from the ancient negative approach to the modern constructive emphasis in dealing with children's problems. The object of the organization is to: "promote the education, attendance and social welfare of the children of the United States and the Dominion of Canada; to encourage an active cooperation between the administrative personnel and workers in attendance, education and pupil adjustment departments in public service; to cooperate with organizations or citizens interested in the intellectual, moral and protective welfare of the pupil personnel." This group has contributed to education through improved legislative means for keeping children in school; improved qualifications and training for pupil personnel staffs; encouraged use of case-work techniques in pupil personnel work; and classified and strengthened cooperative relationships between service agencies and the school. Actual instructional practices in the school have been modified as the league has lent its influence to the policy of meeting the individual needs of children by a more thorough understanding of the whole child.

---

[14] Recent examples are: *The Place of Subjects in the Curriculum*, Bulletin, 1949, No. 12; *How Children Use Arithmetic*, Bulletin, 1951, No. 7; *How Children Learn to Think*, Bulletin, 1951, No. 10.

Authorized in 1912, the *Children's Bureau* is now one of the administrative divisions of the Department of Labor. Its functions are to investigate and report on matters that pertain to life and welfare of children, such as birth rate, infant mortality, orphanage, desertion, juvenile courts, employment, and legislation concerning children and their interests. Indirectly, the elementary school is influenced by applications of statistical data reported by the bureau as these call attention to need for more school housing, the environmental factors affecting child development, et cetera. Its practices are more directly modified as a result of general public enlightenment through use of bureau publications.[15] Parents who have made use of these materials have better bases for understanding causes of behavior and the advantage of the modern comprehensive, integrated curriculum.

Organized in 1939 as the Association of State Directors of Elementary Education and changing to the *National Council of State Consultants in Elementary Education* in 1948, this group operates "to bring together persons in State Departments of Education specifically concerned with responsibility for elementary education on a statewide basis." It contributes to public education in general through such activities as issuance of policy statements and publications.[16] Specific influence upon the elementary school results from its programs emphasizing the sharing of experiences at the national meetings, committee work in identifying desirable practices in elementary education, and establishing policies in fields such as evaluation.

The *National School Boards Association, Incorporated,* a federation of state school board associations, was organized in 1940 to "unite the interests, efforts, and objectives of the school boards of the various states in a program of self-improvement and national cooperation designed to advance and strengthen our public schools." Its chief contributions are in gradually raising the standards of school board service,[17] and increasing its effectiveness; bringing the school board point of view and influence to national policy making; widening the scope of cooperative effort in promoting public education. Its influence upon public elementary schools is potentially vast, since the schools are operated legally by the school boards, which are state authorized but locally constituted.

---

[15] For example: *What Is Malnutrition?; Child Management; Out of Babyhood into Childhood; The Child from One to Six.*

[16] As: *Programs for Children Below Six; School Housing; Equipment and Materials; Characteristics of a Good Elementary School; Year-Round Programs for Children.*

[17] See, for example, *Boards of Education—American Plan,* prepared by the association, September 1, 1951, a statesmanlike brief of the "why, what and who" of school board membership.

PHILANTHROPIC ORGANIZATIONS. The activities of these groups are directed toward the special purposes determined by their founders. While seldom devoted to the elementary school as a special institution, incidental results of their operations may be identified in increased appreciation of the school's problems, changed ideas of its functions, or modification in its procedures. Several foundations are mentioned in this section, as illustrative of such influences.

Founded in 1902 for "the promotion of education within the United States of America, without distinction of race, sex, or creed," the *General Education Board* has contributed over 103 millions of dollars, or approximately 33 per cent of its total appropriations, to advancement of the science of education. This sum was distributed for schools of education, educational research, educational experiments, Negro education, and elementary and secondary education. The fact that over 4 per cent of its appropriations have been for direct benefit of the last two divisions indicates that the GEB "has welcomed opportunity to blend its support with the general forward movement in public elementary schools." Its principal contribution has been the assistance which it has given to state departments of education and to individuals who wished to prepare themselves for more effective service and leadership.

The *Russell Sage Foundation*, established in 1907 "for the improvement of social and living conditions in the United States of America," immediately undertook work related to elementary education. It is of historical interest that Leonard P. Ayres was employed by the foundation in the autumn of 1907 to undertake a study of retardation, or of backward children, in the elementary schools of New York City. That study resulted in the book by Ayres, *Laggards in Our Schools*, published in 1909, which has been of continuing influence. Other pioneering studies were made of medical supervision and health of school children, open-air schools, the uses of tests and measurements, and applications of the school survey. The foundation has also carried on useful work in child hygiene, recreation, and child welfare, all of which has some influence on practices in public elementary education.

The *Twentieth Century Fund* was established in 1919 for scientific research and nonpartisan educational activities on economic questions. Its studies are published in book form. The findings of its reports are then disseminated in more popular form through press releases and special articles, popularly written pamphlets, radio and television programs, films and film strips, and a periodic newsletter and clipsheet. As these popular materials are used in elementary schools they encourage reference to a variety of sources rather than dependence on a single text, application of study skills to contemporary problems, and stimulation of thought. The fund's reports are designed primarily for an adult public audience and for supplementary reading in colleges and high schools. These uses should affect elementary-school practices indirectly, as they promote more general understanding of socioeconomic problems, issues, and trends.[18]

In at least one phase of its work "devoted to the increase and diffusion of economic knowledge" the *Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, Incorporated,* established in 1934, has contributed directly to improved elementary-school practices. Known as "applied economics," this project was begun in 1939 and included the cooperation of several universities and the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. It has been briefly described as follows:

> The project's general purpose has been to raise living standards, especially in low-income areas, by appropriate instruction in the schools. Efforts in this direction have emphasized instruction for children on such subjects as the constituents of a "balanced" diet, improved agricultural and soil conservation practices, cultivation of home and school gardens, modes of preserving food, the care and repair of wearing apparel, and home repair and improvements. Various other areas of "practical" knowledge, including personal safety procedures in home and school and ordinary precautions against certain diseases, have also been included in the instructional program. Information on matters such as these was brought into the curriculum by means of specially prepared texts and a great variety of pamphlets designed for supplementary class use. In addition such information was stressed in classroom demonstrations and in extra-curricular programs which sought to encourage students to "learn by doing."[19]

---

[18] See, for example, Stuart Chase, *Democracy Under Pressure: Special Interests Vs. the Public Welfare* (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1945).

[19] Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, Inc., *Report for 1949-1950* (New York: The Foundation, 1950), p. 33.

This project has been appraised as "one of the most significant educational experiments of our time" and acclaimed for its pioneer work in developing many methods of that practical type of education, sometimes called "fundamental education," of which so much of the world stands in acute need. A comprehensive report on the work noted the growing popularity of the curricular theory of the project and explained it as due to the fact that, where this theory obtains, teachers and students "learn how to identify and use constructively the human and natural resources around them. . . ." The authors conclude that, where the principles of the project have been applied to specific communities, the level of living has been improved, and that it has offered "an effective method of putting much currently accepted educational theory into practice."[20]

These findings, plus the fact that the children achieved greater gains in academic skills and knowledge than did comparable students in conventional programs of study, will continue to have strong liberalizing effects upon instructional practices. They also reduce the effectiveness of arguments by the traditionalists against the value of direct personal experiences, integration of subjects into broad units, and functional methods of presenting subject matter and skills. It is also of some significance, both for future developments of curriculum theory and for interpretation of modern instructional methods to the public, that a highly successful industrialist believed strongly enough in the functional approach to support this experiment to the extent of more than a half-million dollars appropriated through the foundation.

The *Fund for the Advancement of Education*, established by the Ford Foundation in 1951 to handle its activities in the field of formal education, has begun the support of a cooperative program for professional education of elementary- and secondary-school teachers. The program includes twenty-two eastern colleges which are investigating ways of relating the undergraduate program to the graduate study of education. A disproportionately low number of the able and personally well-fitted graduates of liberal arts colleges are now entering teaching in the elementary and secondary schools. Through scholarships and other aid, the fund should be influential in reversing this trend, as well as contributing to improvement of elementary education by making possible a fifth year of preparation for a number of beginning teachers. To the extent that this extension of preparation occurs, it will be a genuinely constructive influence countering the all-too-prevalent lowering of standards for preparation as an "expedient" way to meet the teacher shortage.

---

[20] Stewart B. Hamblen and Richmond Page, *Improvement of Living Through the Schools* (New York: Committee on Standards and Surveys of the Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1951), p. 65-66.

WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS. Continuing its work "to eliminate harmful child labor and improve the conditions under which young people are employed" and "to keep more children in school and promote better preparation of young people for work as part of life" is the *National Child Labor Committee*, established in 1904. It has contributed to public elementary education through studies of child labor and school attendance. Its promotion of child labor and compulsory attendance laws to the sixteen-year level has had a substantial effect in increasing school enrollment and school facilities. "With John Dewey, it initiated the idea of Federal aid to education in 1910 and has actively supported, since 1918, bills for Federal aid for vocational education and for general education."

Five *White House Conferences on Children and Youth* have been held under the auspices of the President of the United States, one in each decade of the twentieth century (1909—Theodore Roosevelt; 1919—Woodrow Wilson; 1930—Herbert Hoover; 1940—Franklin D. Roosevelt; 1950—Harry S. Truman). Both directly and indirectly, these have had profound influences upon the elementary school. The first conference stimulated the creation of a Children's Bureau in the federal government. The second fomulated the first important body of child health and child welfare standards. The third "produced the most comprehensive statement of the needs of children ever assembled in one set of documents; these standards were highlighted in a Children's Charter, widely used through many years; pointed up the need for specialized training of people working with children; advanced the profession of pediatrics, and stimulated progressive education."[21] The fourth emphasized the importance of the child in a democracy and canvassed the conditions and services necessary for the welfare of children. The fifth, proposed by the National Commission on Children and Youth (representing sixty-seven organizations concerned with the well-being of children) centered on the child in his family and community and outlined the interrelated responsibilities of those who are closest to the daily lives of children.

---

[21] *The Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth* (Washington, D.C.: Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency, 1949), p. 5.

The *American Junior Red Cross* is a division of membership organized in 1917 to give school children and youth an opportunity to take part in the work of the American National Red Cross. Its activities in the elementary school are purposely designed to give children an opportunity to broaden their horizons through the field of volunteer service. The program originated and continues to function through the cooperative planning of educators and Red Cross personnel. AJRC exercises such constructive influences upon the elementary school as the following:

> It has broadened the opportunities for young children to learn citizenship by practicing it. It has successfully developed the idea of group service through organized channels. By discouraging competition between individual children or groups, and encouraging cooperative efforts without regard to grade placement, intelligence, race, creed, economic status, or other limiting factors it has provided valuable guidance in ways of recognizing and developing the individual talents innate in *every* child.

Indirect in influence upon elementary schools, but contributing to the development of intergroup understanding at all levels is the *National Conference of Christians and Jews,* established in 1928. According to its bylaws:

> The National Conference exists to promote justice, amity, understanding and cooperation among Protestants, Catholics and Jews in the United States, and to analyze, moderate and finally eliminate intergroup prejudices which disfigure and distort religious, business, social and political relations, with a view to the establishment of a social order in which the religious ideals of brotherhood and justice shall become the standards of human relationships.

The national conference endeavors to improve relations among religious groups. It developed the idea of Brotherhood Week, which is now celebrated by many elementary schools with activities to clarify and promote pupils' mutual understandings. It promotes interfaith conferences and community programs which contribute to more democratic relationships in and with the elementary school. Perhaps its most comprehensive and direct influence upon elementary-school practices is through its excellent pamphlets.[22] These should be helpful in neutralizing the corroding prejudice compounded of ignorance, suspicion, and fear.

---

[22] See, for example, Maxwell S. Stewart, *Prejudice in Textbooks* (New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1950); Margaret M. Heaton, *Feelings Are Facts* (New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, Inc., 1951).

The *Elementary School Section, National Safety Council,* was established in 1945, to help:

1. Make elementary teachers and those concerned with the training of elementary teachers conscious of the need for safety education and conscious of ways that they can do something about the problems of safety education.
2. Include safety in the social consciousness of boys and girls.
3. Stimulate cooperative action of school and community agencies toward improving safety education and suggest techniques for it.
4. Suggest techniques and materials to teachers for carrying on the safety education program.
5. Stimulate research as to needs, outcomes, and effectiveness of means of safety education programs.

The section contributed to modification of instructional practices through its above-listed functions by emphasis on the problem-solving point of view in its work to prevent accidents. Manuals such as *Much Ado About Safety* and *Foundations for Safe Living* are influential guides to procedures. Schools are also aided in their work by listings of activities which they should be carrying on to have a good safety education program.

EDUCATIONAL-RECREATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. Belief that the time to begin building health and developing skills, tolerance, and character in people is when they are young, and that children and young people should be attracted to organizations because of their natural desire for companionship, fun, and pursuit of special hobby interests is the foundations of the educational-recreational organizations which make such wholesome contributions to children and youth. This belief is a large part of the basis for *Boys' Clubs of America.* The first organization with the name "Boys' Club" in its title was the Boys' Club of New York, which has been in continuous operation since 1876. In communities where boys' clubs are established their contributions to the elementary school are noteworthy. They accept boys of eight to fifteen years of age into membership and, believing that boys under sixteen should not be regarded as "lost," set no character test for membership. Boys' clubs attract and hold boys of all inclinations through a richly diversified program of arts, crafts, and vocational activities, boys' councils, dramatics, music, games, and the like. Thus they supplement the school's work with those who need it most, and provide extensions of school goals.

Founded in 1905, the *National Audubon Society* is the oldest and largest privately financed national conservation organization in North America. Generally speaking, colleges provide little preparation to teachers in presenting nature and conservation subjects effectively or in integrating them with the existing curriculum. Audubon Camps, for teachers and others, make a contribution in general as they aid in filling this need. The Audubon Junior Clubs influence the elementary school directly, through the club activities and various publications such as *Outdoors Illustrated*. The activities of the society aid schools in teaching the value and need of conservation of soil, water, plants, and wild life, and the relation of their intelligent treatment to human welfare.

The program of the *Boy Scouts of America*, incorporated in 1910, provides a constructive supplement to the work of modern schools. The direct contact of the organization with the elementary school begins when the eight-year-old boy becomes a Cub Scout. Although it ends soon after he becomes a Boy Scout at eleven, indirect benefits continue to accrue from its emphasis on character, physical fitness, and sportsmanship. The importance of the influence of the organization is suggested by the following statement:

> Teachers who are concerned with the education, as distinguished from mere instruction, of their pupils, are earnestly seeking to merge their work with the best influences in the home, in the church, and in society. They welcome all supplementary means of arousing a boy's ambition, of quickening his emotions, of attracting his interests, and of fixing his habits. They like to see him give himself whole-heartedly to something worth doing, whether it be work or play, and to stick to the job until it is done. They know that self-reliance, self-direction, and self-control come in no other way, and that preaching about the finest ideals of life leaves the boy untouched, unless he himself builds them into his own character.
>
> It is for these reasons, therefore, that I declare the Boy Scout Movement to be the most significant educational contribution of our time. The naturalist may praise it for its success in putting the boy close to nature's heart; the moralist for its splendid code of ethics; the hygienist, for its methods of physical training; the parent, for its ability to keep his boy out of mischief; but from the standpoint of the educator, it has marvelous potency for converting the restless, irresponsible, self-centered boy into the straightforward, dependable, helpful young citizen. To the

boy who will give himself to it, there is plenty of work that looks like play, standards of excellence which he can appreciate, rules of conduct which he must obey, positions of responsibility which he may occupy as soon as he qualifies himself—in a word, a program that appeals to a boy's instincts, and a method adapted to a boy's nature.[23]

Camp Fire Girls, Inc., founded in 1910, was the first national agency in the United States providing a program for girls between the ages of seven and seventeen. It seeks to supplement the training of the home, church, and school by providing opportunities to girls, regardless of race, religion, or economic background, to participate in leisure-time activities which develop their creative skills and increase their knowledge. "Through active participation in health and character-building activities, Camp Fire Girls 'learn by doing.'" Procedures in the elementary school are soundly influenced by the Camp Fire Girls Law: "Worship God, Seek Beauty, Give Service, Pursue Knowledge, Be Trustworthy, Hold on to Health, Glorify Work, Be Happy." They are furthered by the organization's encouragement of young girls to practice democracy and accept responsibilities so they will be good citizens. Study, special projects, trips, correspondence, and meetings help them learn to work and plan together. Guidance in interracial and international understanding are other integral parts of the program which exercise broadening influences upon the elementary-school curriculum.

Girl Scouts of the United States of America, founded in 1912 as "Girl Guides," plans its activities "to complement and supplement the school program in such a way that schools and Scouts can work more effectively in the education of good, resourceful citizens who are ready to serve and live democracy." The purpose of the Girl Scout movement is to help girls realize the ideals of womanhood as a preparation for their responsibilities in the home and as active citizens in the community and the world. Its procedures in attaining that purpose are so consistent with school practices in character education and personality development that the two programs become closely interrelated. Many schools regard Girl Scouting as an extracurricular program, and teachers volunteer their time to lead troops or to teach Girl Scouts swimming, pottery making, etc. Girl Scouts take part in many service projects such as: baby sitting on school parent-visiting days and PTA meeting days; serving as ushers at school affairs; helping with clerical work at the school; helping with the library, cafeteria, and playground; aiding handicapped children; cooperating with special school programs on health and safety, conservation projects, international projects, stamp-saving campaigns, and the like. Many Girl Scout troops are sponsored by PTA groups and hold their meetings at school. All of these activities influence school practices, especially as they help parents and the general public to understand the reasons underlying the modern "experience-centered" instructional methods.

---

[23] James E. Russell, *Scouting Education* (New York: Boy Scouts of America, 1917), pp. 8-9.

ORGANIZATIONS OF SCHOOL PARENTS. The interest of parents in their children's advancement, their desire to help the school in its contribution to that advancement, and teachers' need for means to explain methods and problems provided the basis for organizations of parents in schools. An excellent illustration of the development and influence of these organizations is provided by the first of such groups in Chicago.

A new principal went to the Cook County Normal School in 1883, Francis W. Parker, who had won acclaim for developing the "Quincy Method" while superintendent of schools in Quincy, Massachusetts. There, he began by banning "the old-fashioned, stiff, unnatural order. The torture of sitting perfectly still with nothing to do was ruled out and in came an order of work, with all the whispering and noise compatible with the best results. The child began to feel that he had something to do for himself, that he was a member of society, with the responsibilities that accompany such an important position."[24] Applying the Herbartian principle of concentration or correlation, subjects were related to a central core or problem, instead of being taught separately for their own sakes. Arithmetic was taught primarily through actual child use rather than by rote drill and abstract verbal examples; language was studied by practical observation and discussion; science by laboratory procedures. The curriculum was broadened to meet children's needs for art, music, handcrafts, and physical education. The Quincy Method was the progenitor of "progressive education," and the now-familiar charges of "failing to teach the fundamentals" were so strongly made that, in 1879, the state board of education was persuaded to investigate. To the disappointment of the critics, the board found that the Quincy children could read, write, spell, and figure better than the majority

[24] F. W. Parker, "The Quincy Method," *American Journal of Sociology*, 6:18, July, 1900.

of children in the state and were also superior in geography and history. At Chicago, Parker expanded the Quincy Method. Soon, parents began expressing doubts about his innovations, criticized the "loose" methods, and demanded more drill and formal recitation. In response, Parker helped to establish a parent-teacher study group, the first in Chicago and one of the first in the country, to provide a public opportunity for parents to raise questions and discuss them with the staff.

The idea spread and similar groups were established in schools all over the country. A central organization was established in 1894 under the name, "National Congress of Mothers," for the purpose of focusing attention on "little children, the home, the school, and the community." The organization obtained a charter in 1900 under the name, *National Congress of Parents and Teachers,* which gave titular recognition to the roles of fathers and teachers. Its growth is indicated by the fact that approximately two million fathers, mothers, and teachers are now members. In addition, many more belong to similar groups not officially associated with the national organization. Occasionally, a local PTA attempts to assume policy powers legally residing with the school board, gets lost in social activities, or dissipates its energies in fund raising. In the main, however, the PTA has remained true to its basic purpose—to advance the welfare of the child through improved cooperation between home and school. Its considerable influence upon elementary-school practices is constructive to the extent that it keeps abreast of new understandings of the learning process and resulting changes in methods of teaching.

Organizations Critical of Public Schools. With free public education under the heaviest attack in its history, no discussion of organizational influences upon schools is complete without mention of groups whose efforts are aimed not at improvement of free education but at its destruction.

The *National Council for American Education,*[25] organized in 1948 by Allen A. Zoll,[26] appears to be chief among those organizations exploiting both the misunderstanding of modern education and the fear of communism. Zoll has a questionable record as national commander of "American Patriots, Inc." (which appears on the Attorney General's list as a Fascist organization), as colleague of such professional anti-Semites as Merwin K. Hart and Joseph P. Kamp, and as supporter of the rabble-rousing Father Coughlin. Now signing his writings "Allen A. Zoll, Ph.D.," "Doctor" Zoll admitted the degree was secured from Temple Hall College. That now-defunct institution was a one-man diploma mill run by D. Scott Swain, whose qualifications as an educator included a six-year prison term on six charges.[27]

---

[25] Not to be confused with the National Education Association or the American Council on Education, which are professional organizations.

[26] For a rather full description of Zoll's activities in Columbus, Ohio, Englewood, N.J., and elsewhere, see Arthur D. Morse, "Who's Trying to Ruin Our Schools?" *McCall's*, September, 1951, upon which this summary is largely based.

Zoll's influence is exerted largely through pamphlets that he publishes and distributes. Among them are such titles as "Private Schools: The Solution to America's Educational Problem," "How Red Are the Schools?" and "Progressive Education *Increases* Delinquency." How these seeds sprout is suggested by the fact that, in 1951, the point of view in these pamphlets was being advocated by the Parents Council for Education in Eugene, Oregon, the Citizens' School Committee in Los Angeles, the Three R Parents' Committee in Columbus, Ohio, and by similar groups in many other communities.[28] That Zoll's attacks on public schools stem from coldly selfish greed rather than altruistic patriotism is clear. By the end of 1949, when his National Council "front" was just gaining momentum, pamphlet sales and contributions had *netted* an estimated $45,000—for a single year's sowing of falsehood, distrust, and suspicion!

Other groups of the Zoll type distribute the *Educational Reviewer*, a quarterly publication edited by Lucille Cardin Crain, and *Friends of the Public Schools*, a monthly sheet by Major General Amos A. Fries, Retired. The former sells on the basis of uncovering subversive material in textbooks and has seriously distorted passages of text to achieve that end. The latter campaigns against nurseries and kindergartens, health, welfare, and recreational facilities, and services for handicapped children. The general's educational program is apparently based on the belief that things were better in the good old days when fewer children went to school.

The specific approach to attack varies from doorstep distribution of inflammatory pamphlets, as in the shameful Pasadena affair,[29] to vituperative speeches interposed in public programs, as in Englewood, New Jersey,[30] but the pattern of operations is similar in these and other cities, where the anti-public-school elements have, almost without exception, been aligned with Zoll's organization. Large school systems, where new buildings and increased tax support are needed, are the usual targets. Well-meaning but misinformed people are prompted to join a local, wholesomely titled school group because its purpose appears to be controlling school taxes or some other goal that appeals to the pocketbook or to the emotions. Shadowy fears are generated by cunning phrases, anger aroused by vicious charges, suspicion and prejudice stimulated by the pamphlet series, and the attack is launched.

---

[27] *Ibid.*

[28] As Zoll's organization and the related local groups become generally recognized, their names will probably be changed. See "Earmarks of a 'Front' Organization," editorial, *The Nation's Schools*, April, 1951.

[29] See David Hulburd, *This Happened in Pasadena* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951).

The influence of such organizations upon public education, from nursery schools onward, is seriously disruptive and destructive. In Englewood, for example, although the veiled accusations and charges against the schools were not substantiated, "a subtle and distressing change" began creeping over the city. The teachers felt insecure and became jittery. As Morse describes the effect, "They were afraid the healthy open discussion that had previously characterized their classes would somehow be misconstrued. Several teachers told Dr. Stearns [the superintendent] they were sure that some students, under instructions from their parents, were trying to trap them into making incriminating statements." As the poison of suspicion is spread, teachers tend to retreat to the relatively sterile methods of fixed assignments, rote drill, and recitation in turn—not because such traditional procedures are sound, but because they are comparatively "safe." Abandonment of modern professional practices in instruction is not the most serious effect. As Dr. Willard E. Givens, Executive Secretary of the NEA, has pointed out, since such attacks "strike at the very roots of our system of free public education, they are a very real menace to democracy."

It is comforting to know that a source of aid has been established for beleaguered schools and well-wishers of public education. The constructive organization is reported by Morse as follows:

> To provide facts enabling friends of education to improve our schools and defend them against unjustified attacks, there was founded in 1949 an outstanding organization called the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools. President James B. Conant of Harvard was instrumental in its establishment. Roy E. Larsen, president of Time, Inc., is its chairman, and its membership includes many other leading Ameri-

---

[30] See Arthur D. Morse, *op. cit.*

can citizens. A nonprofit group, the Commission is financed by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Carnegie Corporation, and it works closely with all organizations devoted to better education, including the National Congress of Parents and Teachers and the United States Office of Education.

The National Citizens Commission stimulates and assists in the formation of local committees representing a cross-section of the community—business, labor, church, civic, women's and veterans' interests—devoted to improving the schools. The Commission furnishes its local committees, free of charge, a wealth of material that explains how to organize, what to look for in evaluating the schools, how to work with local educators and how to carry through a program of action.[31] The Commission acts as a national clearing house of community experiences. One of its most valuable services is the distribution of case histories of school improvement in every part of the country.[32]

VOCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OF TEACHERS. The reasons for the rise of teachers' unions appear to be that, in many cases, teachers are not treated as professional people. They are not "consulted," as are other specially prepared specialists, "but are hired, like factory hands, to teach whatever their employers prescribe. At the same time they lack the rights of skilled labor—collective bargaining, grievance committees, arbitration of disputes, and systematic schedule of duties and salaries."[33] Arguments for and against teachers' unions are still heard, but whatever the conditions that caused their use, it is a fact that they appeared more than a quarter of a century ago, sixty years after the national professional organization.

The *American Federation of Teachers,* established in 1916, is the oldest and largest and may be taken as typical of the teacher vocational organizations. Its major purpose is:

> To raise the standards of the teaching profession by securing the conditions essential to the best professional service: to obtain for classroom teachers all of the professional rights to which they are entitled; to provide progressively better educational opportunities for the children of the nation; and to protect the school from attack.[34]

---

[31] Address requests to: National Citizens Commission, 2 West 45th St., New York 18, N.Y.

[32] Arthur D. Morse, *op. cit.*

[33] *Should College Teachers Affiliate with Labor?* (Chicago: American Federation of Teachers, n.d.), p. 7.

[34] From a statement by Irvin R. Kuenzli, Secretary-Treasurer, AFT, 28 East Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill., May 14, 1952 (official letter).

In its program designed to further these purposes, the chief contributions of the AFT to education have been made as it:

> . . . has played a large part in attaining the following educational objectives: (a) Assisting in the elimination of child labor and taking the children from the sweatshops of the Nation and placing them in the public schools where the children of a democratic nation should be. (b) Assisting in the elimination of undemocratic school administration and making the school rooms of the nation laboratories of the democratic process. (c) Securing increases in teachers' salaries. (d) Protecting the security of the teacher through tenure laws and through functional defense machinery within the organization.[35]

The influence of teachers' vocational organizations upon elementary-school practices has been both direct and indirect, since the above objectives and accomplishments apply to grade eight and below as well as to others. Support for enactment of single salary schedules contributed to securing more competent teachers for the grades. The organizations advocate extension of the elementary program to include nursery school and kindergarten, which tend to raise standards by preparing children for primary work. The labor movement generally has contributed to raising the standards of homes from which pupils come.[36] Teacher morale has been strengthened by its defense of academic freedom and action regarding current attacks on the nation's schools. For example, Resolution No. 95 of the 1951 AFL Convention stated in part:

> *Whereas,* The public schools of the United States have faced a serious crisis during the postwar years of World War II resulting from inadequate financial support of the public school and a serious shortage of teachers, and
>
> *Whereas,* Certain organizations and organized groups under camouflaged names such as The Friends of the Public Schools, National Council for American Education, and American Education Association, are making attacks on the public schools and demanding reduced expenditures for education at a time when school costs have greatly increased and when a greatly expanded program of education is badly needed, and
>
> *Whereas,* Such attacks on the Nation's schools, which are based on prejudice and tax-saving programs, rather than on facts, tend to jeopardize the welfare and security of the United States at a critical time in its

---

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] See Maurice J. Tobin, *What Labor Has Done for American Children* (Chicago: American Federation of Teachers, 1949).

> history and threaten the very foundations of our democratic government, therefore be it
>
> *Resolved*, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled, in September, 1951, emphatically condemn the current attacks on the Nation's schools and urge all affiliated organizations to give all possible support to teachers' unions and other true friends of education in exposing and opposing the groups which are waging camouflaged but carefully planned campaigns to curtail the educational program for the children and youth of the Nation. . . .[37]

This kind of support goes a long way toward explaining both the continued growth of the vocational type of organization among professional workers and its influence upon school practices.

BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. As is true of any institution of such size, number, and distribution of units, the elementary school is influenced by many organizations of business and professional types, from abacus manufacturers to zymotic analyzers. Two groups are included in the present discussion, as being broadly representative of these sources of influence.

The *American Institute of Architects*, established in 1857 to unite the efforts of architects in promoting the aesthetic, scientific, and practical efficiency of the profession, has contributed through its publications during its entire history to better understanding of the building requirements for education at all levels. Its direct contributions to education have been numerous. Officers of the institute have offered testimony before Congressional committees regarding school building requirements. For a number of years one of the standing committees of the institute has been the Committee on School Buildings. That committee contributes articles to professional journals of education as well as architecture relating to design of school buildings, and collaborates with the U.S. Office of Education in analysis of critical materials. It prepared for publication in the *Bulletin* of the AIA a series of nontechnical illustrated "School Plan Studies," widely distributed to educators and school board members. For some years the institute's Department of Education and Research has assisted the AASA in programming and screening exhibits of school buildings at the school administrators' annual convention. It also prepared a comprehensive research project in fundamentals of school building design, which has been tentatively endorsed by the National

---

[37] *Labor Condemns the Attacks on the Schools* (Chicago: American Federation of Teachers, 1951).

Council of School Housing Construction, the NEA, and the American Council on Education.

The nature of the organization's influence upon the elementary school is implicit in the activities mentioned above. Specifically, effects of the institute's work have been described as follows:

> . . . All members of the Institute whose practice includes the design of school buildings, have obviously influenced public schools inescapably and in large measure through their professional service. It may be assumed that the quality of their service has been enhanced by the activities of the professional society. In recent years, members of the Institute, notably members of the Institute's Committee on School Buildings through their research, public education and executed designs of school buildings, have drastically and radically influenced the character of school buildings, notably in the Chicago, New Orleans and San Francisco areas.[38]

Anyone who has visited or taught in the functionally designed modern elementary school buildings appreciates the contribution which they make to improvement of educational practices. The large, light, well-ventilated rooms encourage active participation by all pupils. The storage cabinets and bookcases promote use of wide varieties of instructional materials. Work spaces and special project or committee rooms aid in developing individual responsibility and group cooperation. A far cry from the "Mark Hopkins on one end of a log and a pupil on the other" concept of school housing. And a good thing, for improved school buildings and equipment contributed greatly to eliminating the idea of teaching and learning as passive listening, listless memorizing, and docile reciting.

The *American Textbook Publishers Institute*, established in 1942 by twenty-eight interested publishers, represents the cooperative efforts of leaders in this important business which parallels the progress of education. The purpose of the institute is to provide a clearing house of ideas, suggestions, and recommendation made by educators and publishers pertaining to the more effective use of textbooks; to bring to bear the combined thinking of the industry on the solution of common problems; and to promote a better understanding of the place and need of the textbook in American education.

The institute's chief contributions to public education in general have been the financial support given over a period of years to the Advertising Council's campaign in support of better schools; help in connection with unwarranted attacks on education; the development of higher ethical procedures and practices within the industry. The institute's influence upon the public elementary school has been the building of a greater awareness on the part of educators of the essentialness of adequate amounts of suitable printed materials of instruction. Those familiar with modern instructional procedures in the elementary school understand the necessity for easy and interesting materials for beginners and the less mature in each grade group, advanced and challenging materials for the more able pupils; they know the importance of interesting pictures, explanatory drawings, and easy-to-read type; they recognize the value of a wide variety of materials to stimulate pupils of varied backgrounds, abilities, and interests. The steady improvement in such resources is due in large measure to the institute and its member companies.

---

[38] Walter A. Taylor, Director, Department of Education and Research, The American Institute of Architects, letter of May 21, 1952.

PROFESSIONALIZATION THROUGH ORGANIZATION

The briefest review of the growth of the elementary school indicates the key role played by organizations. The three-century evolution of the old field school into the well-equipped and competently staffed modern institution is a story of cooperative, and sometimes divergent, endeavor by many groups. The development of professional viewpoints toward the elementary school, as well as within it, has been a slow process. That slowness has been due to its humble beginnings, the local origins and poor preparation of its staffs, and the oversimplified ideas of teaching and learning assumed by its patrons. The fact that professional levels of attitude and procedure are now being attained is due almost entirely to the acceptance of responsibility by professionally minded groups, through their national organizations, for specific achievements. Many groups, both within education and outside the ranks of teachers, have contributed to the progress of elementary education, as the preceding sections have shown. And there are evidences suggesting even greater organizational contributions in the future.

PROFESSIONAL STATUS RESULTS FROM COMPREHENSIVE ORGANIZATION. With the support of almost a million members and the coordinated efforts of its divisions, departments, committees, and commissions, the National Education Association has grown to a powerful position from which to provide leadership. As it achieves universal recognition of its Code of Ethics and corresponding standards for teacher licensing it will have advanced education far along the road toward true professional status. A strict code of practice and a schedule for remuneration consistent with specialized preparation would then represent a full professional level of operation. These contributions to attainment of complete professional responsibility may well depend upon attainment of unanimous membership, as its past achievements have corresponded to growth in membership.

IN ORGANIZATION THERE IS STRENGTH. Democratic ideas and ideals are discussed and written about by professionally minded educators more than by any other group. That is as it should be, for the future of American democracy may well depend upon free public education, of which elementary education is the foundation. If all teachers in the elementary schools were active working members of the organizations most closely related to their professional interests, even more would be achieved in reforming and improving educational practice.

STATE EDUCATION AGENCIES BECOME PROFESSIONAL. A simple comparison between original titles and names now used by educational agencies of the states, of which several were noted above, suggests the increasingly professional viewpoints held by responsible state officials. Analysis shows a number of important signs of the maturing professional responsibility of these organizations. They are steadily being released from political control to operate according to professional standards. The "inspectorial" aspect of their functions is being reduced, with correspondingly greater emphasis upon leadership functions. Smaller proportions of staff serve as "supervisors" and correspondingly greater numbers act as consultants, thus according professional recognition to staffs of school subdivisions. Less direct control is exercised over local schools, and increased assistance is rendered on such matters as curriculum, special services, and in-service education of teachers. Boards of education are increasingly developing professional viewpoints toward education—including "grade schools." These results have followed the establishment of national organizations by the various governmental groups. They provide a further indication that organization contributes to professionalization. That, in turn, elevates and broadens the sense of responsibility held by members.

BETTER UNDERSTANDING AMONG GROUPS. Many elementary-school teachers are not yet much concerned with the problems of the high-school teacher and even less with those of college teachers. Teachers at these levels are even more unconcerned with the problems and procedures of elementary-school teachers. Wide disparity and considerable snobbishness exists among levels, as well as among different units on the same level, in regard to quality of preparation, instructional loads, and the like. As organizations become established in their spheres of activity and increase their cooperative efforts, and an increasing number of teachers assume responsibilities in the various organizations, cooperative associations between teachers on the various levels inevitably result in mutual appreciation of common problems.

DIFFERENT ORIGINS BUT A COMMON GOAL. Widely separated are the bases from which arose such organizations as the American Institute of Architects, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development. Equally different are the specific professional purposes for which they were established. Yet all of them have, as a broad underlying goal, improvement of children's educational opportunity. A century separates the dates of establishment of the Convention of American Instructors of the Deaf (1850) and the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools (1949), and again, the specific problems stimulating group action were quite different. But both work toward a common end of better education for all children. One of the strongest evidences of the support underlying elementary education is the variety of professional groups whose purposes are dedicated, in whole or in part, to its continued improvement.

SUPPORT FOR PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS. The immediate prospects for elementary education are somewhat foreboding. Increasing national expenses and greater competition for the tax dollar come at a time of higher costs of school housing and are paralleled by increased enrollments. Higher living costs cause need for raising teacher salaries, already much below pay for skilled labor and falling steadily further behind. One result of long-range influence on attainment of professional standards is that requirements for teacher preparation are being reduced to lower levels.

How low the requirements are in some places is indicated by the defense a mother offered for not sending her child to school. "My child can already do arithmetic better than the teacher can," she said, "and I see no use in sending him to the sixth grade any longer—to be drilled by a woman who barely finished the fifth grade herself, twenty years ago!"[39] While lowering the standards for teachers may seem to be a cheap way out of a teacher shortage, it will inevitably prove expensive in the long run, as society receives the product. Teaching loads are increasing toward the huge loads common in the 1930's. Threats to academic freedom are increasing. The quality and extent of educational opportunity are being curtailed.

Teachers themselves must bear a large part of the responsibility for stemming the tide. They are *in* education, not merely concerned *with* it. Only as they recognize their responsibility to preserve and increase the effectiveness of the institution to which they are devoting their life efforts can the problems be dealt with and the dangers averted. Individually, teachers may arouse some interest in personal acquaintances but that is not likely to be enough. Active responsible membership in closely knit teacher organizations provides the coordinated resources essential to successful efforts to maintain and raise professional standards of preparation and practice.

SUMMARY

However discouraged the individual teacher may become over immediate problems or local conditions, he may look back over the years and find far worse situations, particularly as regards the elementary school. The tremendous improvements already made have been largely the result of group efforts, from the Boston Citizens Schooling Committee of 1635, which achieved the establishment of America's first free public school, to the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools organized in 1949, to protect free public schools against unfair attack. It is significant and entirely appropriate that both of those groups were organized by citizens, for it is the citizenry who must maintain the freedom of the nation's schools. The teachers must maintain their integrity. Through the years the teachers of the free public schools have consistently worked to achieve and maintain the integrity of the schools, frequently against the pressure of groups of citizens representing special selfish interests. It has been through their professional organizations that those achievements have been made. The high level of ethics maintained by legitimate educational groups in working toward their goals is a source of present pride and future strength.

---

[39] Harding, L. W., *Functional Arithmetic: Photographic Interpretations* (Dubuque: Brown Publishing Company, 1952), p. 29.

Despite the present shortsighted tendency to lower standards for teaching certificates, a considerable number of professional organizations are achieving a measure of success in opposing it. Their work, as it is supported by teachers themselves and by organizations outside of education but concerned with it, promises to result in ultimate reattainment of control over levels of preparation and competence required for issuance of a license to teach. Organizations provide teachers liaison relationships with other teachers on the same level and other levels. They encourage relationships with other groups of specialized workers. They provide opportunities for discussion of problems and policies, exchange of ideas, and dissemination of research findings.

Of all the influences exerted on the elementary school by professional organizations, perhaps the most important have been those directed toward improvement of instructional procedures within the classroom and toward interpretation of modern teaching practices to the public. The benefits of the leadership, stimulation, and practical suggestions provided by the various organizations are readily identified in the modern practices followed by elementary teachers all over the nation, in the smallest hamlet as well as in the large cities. At the same time, teachers' organizations provide authoritative and impersonal sources of explanations to the general public of the practices used in America's classrooms and of the continuous efforts to improve them.

REFERENCES

ALFRED P. SLOAN FOUNDATION, INC., *Report for 1949-1950*. New York: The Foundation, 1950.

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION, *A Brief History, 1918-1952*. Washington, D.C.: The Council, 1952.

———, *Adventures in Aviation Education*. Washington, D.C.: The Council, 1951.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, *Labor Condemns the Attacks on the Schools*. Chicago: The Federation, 1951.

———, *Should College Teachers Affiliate with Labor?* Chicago: The Federation, n.d.

CHASE, STUART, *Democracy Under Pressure: Special Interests Vs. the Public Welfare*. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1945.

COUNTS, GEORGE, *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* New York: The John Day Company, 1932.

HAMBLEN, STEWART B., AND PAGE, RICHMOND, *Improvement of Living Through the Schools*. New York: Committee on Standards and Surveys of the Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1951.

HARDING, L. W., *Functional Arithmetic: Photographic Interpretations*. Dubuque: Brown Publishing Company, 1952.

HULBURD, DAVID, *This Happened in Pasadena*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951.

KANDEL, I. L., "Education and Social Disorder," *Teachers College Record*, February, 1933.

Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth. Washington D.C.: Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency, 1949.

MORSE, ARTHUR D., "Who's Trying to Ruin Our Schools?" *McCall's*, September, 1941.

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION, *Twenty-Sixth Yearbook*, Part I and Part II. Chicago: The Society, 1927.

PARKER, F. W., "The Quincy Method," *American Journal of Sociology*, 6:118, July, 1900.

PROGRESSIVE EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, *Progressive Education Advances*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1938.

RUSSELL, JAMES E., *Scouting Education*. New York: Boy Scouts of America, 1917.

TOBIN, MAURICE J., *What Labor Has Done for American Children*. Chicago: American Federation of Teachers, 1949.

CHAPTER X

Improved Teaching Materials Contribute to Better Learning[1]

THE world, in the declining half of the twentieth century, surrounds the American child with wonders beyond belief a scant fifty years ago. These marvels are both a blessing and a complication. They are a blessing in the form of spectacular drugs, fabulous means of transportation, split-second means of communications. But they do complicate life by facing us with constant change.

Educators now have the responsibility to teach more and to do it more efficiently than ever before. The field of teaching materials is one of great promise in improving learning and instruction to meet today's demands. Yet such aids are not a cure-all. This chapter examines both the promise and the limitations of modern mediums for more meaningful educative experiences for children.

TEACHING MATERIALS HAVE A VENERABLE HISTORY

The probing of archaeologists has revealed that men have sought for centuries to improve the learning process for children by devising aids to instruction. Although associated with "modern" or "progressive" practices, there is evidence that teaching aids have been with us over the centuries.

In buried Pompeii, for example, there were entombed for centuries stone tracing tables designed to help Roman children learn to form their letters kinesthetically. Today in museums the visitor can see these graven letters of the alphabet which children traced with styluses in ancient times, presumably to help their young muscles respond to the patterns of print.

Flash cards have been traced as far back as the fourteenth century, and Jean Baptiste la Salle, a leading Catholic educator writing in the late seventeenth century, included many ideas regarding instructional materials in a handbook for the schools he founded. Reading charts are depicted in the illustrations of a century-and-a-half-old book illustrating the inside of a monitorial school of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In short, the idea of speeding up the learning process through various devices seems to have been a dream cherished for almost as long as we have had organized schools.

---

[1] This chapter was written by Edgar Dale, The Ohio State University.

However, the professionalization of teaching materials is a development of the present generation, a direct outcome of new insights and concepts regarding learning and the schools which foster it. As suggested at the outset, in this chapter we seek to interpret the developments of today rather than to dwell on the historical growth of improved mediums for communicating knowledge to the young.

An Interpretation of Teaching Materials

If you walk into a typical classroom and look around, you should see visible evidences of teaching and learning. You will, perhaps, see a classroom with walls decorated in diverse ways with the handwork of children, some maps, and maybe a picture of some historical figure. There may be a reading nook with a number of books available for reading. There may be a set of encyclopedias. There may be flash cards on the window sill and charts stored in a corner.

You may happen to visit the class when the children are viewing a motion picture on *Farmers of India,* or *Little Gray Squirrel,* or *How to Use the Library*. The students may be looking at a model of the human body, developing a puppet show, doing role-playing.

The classroom might even be deserted. The children are visiting a near-by farm, you are told. They may return from their trip with a setting hen, a pair of rabbits, or some tadpoles.

These are some of the objects, the actual objects or *realia* which you would see. But there would also be processes going forward, some visible, some invisible. Pupils may be reading, discussing, writing notes, viewing, listening, drawing, painting, constructing.

What is happening to children's insides as they carry out these processes is not so clear. The fine set of model buildings so skillfully and attractively set up as a project on city planning may represent little thinking by the pupils. It could be high-class new busywork as contrasted with the low-class old busywork of having everyone make paper chains, cut out pumpkins of orange paper at Hallowe'en, or draw and color tulips as an Easter decoration for classroom windows.

Teaching Materials Do Not Assure Good Learning. That all of this busywork will result in learning, in thinking, is a not uncommon misconception. Nor does it help too much to call a map a "visual aid" or to have "visual education" from 2:00 to 3:30 on Friday, as one school noted on its class schedule. To this school visual education meant herding the youngsters into the auditorium to see the weekly group of films sent without inspiration and with mechanical regularity from the state film library.

To what does all this add up? I take it that most of us would define education as a process by which important meanings are sensed, judged, and transmitted. Transmission may occur at first-hand, as in a situation where an individual learns the properties of fire by getting too close to it, or learns that a rock falling on glass breaks it. Or he may learn by more covert or symbolic methods that "A burnt child dreads the fire," or that "People who live in glass houses should not throw stones." He realizes that these are metaphors—metaphors which cannot be interpreted without certain prior overt experience.

TEACHING MATERIALS AND EDUCATIONAL VALUES. The school has taken on the job of communicating certain ideas, motor skills, loyalties, and appreciations. There is considerable argument about what these ideas and information are to be. We are pretty certain now that we won't bother to teach the children to spell *daguerreotype* or *phthisis*, but we are not sure just what values our teaching should reflect. We agree that the school should teach children "to take turns" but are not agreed that "religion" should be taught in school.

Not only is there argument about which ideas ought to be communicated in school; there is also considerable discussion about which ones *can* be taught in school—or anywhere, for that matter. Indeed, the perennial question of the teacher is "Why do these boys and girls, these young men and women, forget so much of what I thought I taught them?" Those parents who complain about the inadequacy of learning in our present-day schools may get scant comfort from realizing that things have been worse, but teaching sometimes fails to be rewarding in more ways than one. Here is what Horace Mann, Secretary to the Massachusetts Board of Education, wrote over a hundred years ago—in 1838, to be exact:

> I have devoted especial pains to learn, with some degree of numerical accuracy, how far the reading, in our schools, is an exercise of the mind in thinking and feeling, and how far it is a barren action of the organs of speech upon the atmosphere. . . . The result is that more than 11/12ths of all the children in the reading classes in our schools do not

> understand the meaning of the words they read, that they do not master the sense of the reading lessons, and that the ideas and feelings intended by the author, to be conveyed to, and excited in, the reader's mind, still rest in the author's intention, never having yet reached the place of their destination.[2]

To suggest to the readers of this volume that a discussion of instructional materials, especially those of a newer type including recordings, motion pictures, film strips, television, must involve a clarification of learning theory is trite, but true.

INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS AND LEARNING THEORY. To learn something there must be motivation, desire, interest, drive.[3] The motivation may be simple and direct: "If you will learn this skill, you will get a job and eat regularly." Or the motivation may be highly indirect: "If you learn this well, you will receive a desired symbol called a good grade." If you get enough of them you may earn another symbol called a Phi Beta Kappa key. It may have commercial value and it will almost certainly have prestige value among certain groups. If you are a man the key will be difficult to display in these days of vestless suits. (You may have to be satisfied merely with asking a colleague if he has seen a certain article in *The American Scholar*, the official magazine of Phi Beta Kappa!)

Let's suppose that the urge to learn, the push, the drive, the emotion, is there. What next? Now we must know the dimensions of the learning—not with neat edges and boundaries always, but certainly enough so that one can get a feeling that he has mastered something, that there are at least a few semicolons along the way even if there are no periods or final stopping places.

The goals can be set up on a day-by-day basis, by weeks, by months, by semesters, by four-year programs. There can be time and space dimensions—this much learning in this much time. One can get the satisfaction of knowing what one wishes to learn, of learning it.

But how do you learn? What experiences do you go through and what experiences go through you? How do you act or react? Here's the rub. What experiences of what degrees of directness or concreteness do you undergo? When can you move to generalization; to abstraction?

THE COMMUNICATION OF IDEAS. It is almost impossible to try to answer questions like these unless one theorizes about communication. That, after all, is a part of the business we are in as educators. A definition called archaic by the dictionary yet surprisingly modern describes communication as meaning "to share in common, to participate in." What schools and teachers are trying to do is to share the intellectual and spiritual wealth of our society and to develop creative people who can increase it. The keynote of participation in such a process was struck by John Dewey when he said:

---

[2] Horace Mann, "Second Annual Report of the Board of Education," *The Common School Journal*, 1:21, November 1, 1839.

[3] Cf. Chapter III for a more detailed discussion of learning theory.

> Not only is social life identical with communication, but all communication (and hence all genuine social life) is educative. To be a recipient of a communication is to have an enlarged and changed experience. One shares in what another has thought and felt and in so far, meagerly or amply, has his own attitude modified. Nor is the one who communicates left unaffected. Try the experiment of communicating, with fullness and accuracy, some experience to another, especially if it be somewhat complicated, and you will find your own attitude toward your experience changing; otherwise you resort to expletives and ejaculations. The experience has to be formulated in order to be communicated.[4]

It is reasonably safe to assume that the authors of material in this yearbook agree that communication is, among other things, a sharing process, a means by which growth is developed, a process from which we exclude no one. We are trying to build an inclusive society, not an exclusive one. Communication is thwarted, therefore, in an atmosphere of authoritarianism, compulsion, segregation. It is encouraged when the group feel that they are all in on "this" together. We communicate best in the spirit of equals.

How can the instructional materials be set up on this equalitarian basis? How can we teach so that nearly everybody in the class, bright or slow, will "get it"? The answer, I believe, lies in an understanding of how abstractions, generalizations, and high-level concepts are developed. We learn, too, when we see an artist teacher at work, just how meanings can be shared.

THE CONE OF EXPERIENCE

Ralph Linton, the anthropologist, has pointed out that one of the reasons for the success of Confucius as a teacher was that he not only presented the abstraction but in every case gave a specific illustration of what it meant. Indeed, he often gave several illustrations.

---

[4] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916), p. 6.

A DIAGRAMMATIC INTERPRETATION OF EXPERIENCE. We can conceive of the importance of meaningful learning more concretely if we think of "experience" as being represented by a cone.[5] The movement from the base of the cone to the top is from concrete to abstract. (See diagram on page 239.) At the *bottom* of the cone we have firsthand, direct sensory experiences used in such a way as to carry out the purposes of the individual. Our sense experiences make the most sense.

At the *top* of the cone we have the abstract, the general, the symbolic treatment of experience. We have the word or the symbol which has grown out of, been abstracted or generalized from, the rich experiences which give foundation for it.

Thus all communication materials, all instructional materials, that is, will move between these two ranges of experiences from the highly concrete, personal, direct sense experience to the highly abstract, impersonal, indirect experience many steps removed from "sense."

If we look at this huge possible range of instructional experience we see that two dangers must be faced. First, we may get our feet permanently off the ground with our heads in cloudy abstractions. Or second, we may get our feet stuck in the concrete, ungeneralized experience—become earth-bound.

Let us look now at this cone of experience and get a rough classification of materials on a continuum from concrete to abstract.

DIRECT, PURPOSEFUL EXPERIENCES. The base of the cone represents direct reality itself as we experience it at firsthand. It is rich, full-bodied experience that is the bedrock of all education. It is the purposeful experience that is seen, handled, tasted, felt, touched, smelled. It is an unabridged version of life itself—tangible experience which we commonly refer to as "something you can get your hands on," "something into which you can sink your teeth."

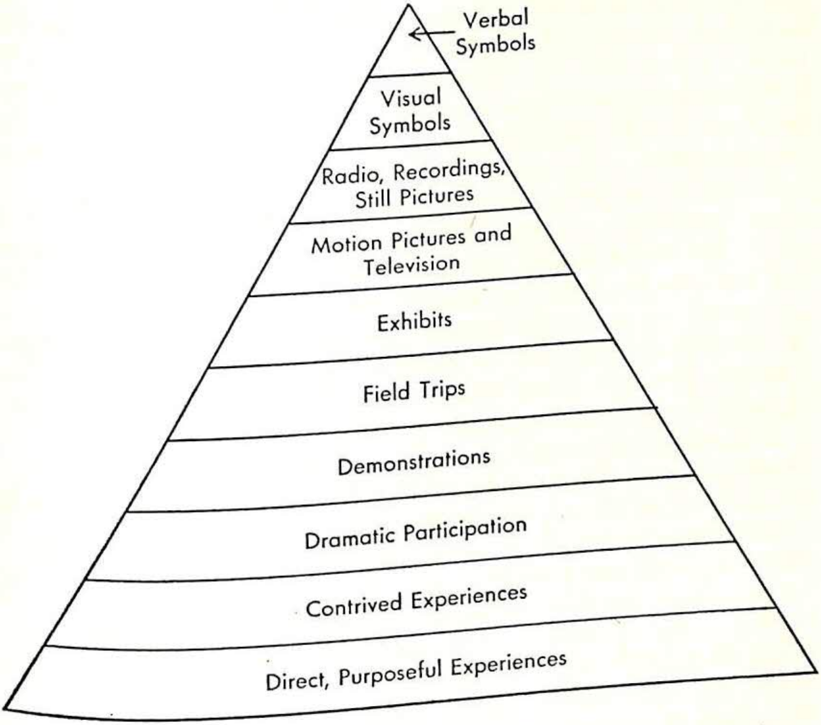
CONTRIVED EXPERIENCES. The second stage in the development of increasingly abstract experience may be illustrated by the working model. It differs from the original either in size or in complexity; we simplify reality by using the working model. For teaching purposes, the model may be easier to understand than the thing it stands for.

A contrived experience is "the editing of reality," an editing which makes the reality easier to grasp. For teaching purposes, therefore, the imitation may be better than the actual thing which it simulates.

---

[5] The concept of the "cone of experience" originally was developed by the writer in *Audio-Visual Methods in Teaching* (New York: The Dryden Press, 1946), pp. 37 ff.

THE CONE OF EXPERIENCE



Dramatic Participation. There are many things we cannot possibly experience at firsthand. Life is too short. Restrictions of time and place make it impossible for any of us to experience directly much of what we need to know if we are to be educated. Besides, we cannot experience directly something that has already happened. Furthermore, some matters cannot be reduced to a contrived experience, and some ideas must of necessity be somewhat abstract and symbolic.

Dramatic participation can help us get as close as possible to certain realities that we cannot reach at firsthand. We participate in a reconstructed experience, not the original one. We relive the struggles of the early pioneers of aviation—the Wright brothers at Kitty Hawk or Byrd at the South Pole—by assuming the roles of these characters and their associates in a play, tableau, or pageant.

We reenact a session of the UN General Assembly, thus getting the "feel" of participation.

There is a distinction between participating in a dramatization and watching it. Both experiences can be fruitful, but a person who plays a part in dramatic reconstruction gets closer to the direct experience than one who merely looks on. Thus, if we were to divide this band of our cone into two parts, "Dramatization by Participation" would be the lower one (because it is a more direct experience) and "Dramatization by Observation" would be the higher one. The spectator is farther away from the original reality than the participants who relive the scenes.

The three stages that we have discussed so far all involve doing. The direct experience, the securing of contrived experience through the use of working models, and the experience of reconstructing reality by acting it out in a dramatization—in these three the individual is not a spectator but a participant.

In the next five stages on the cone the individual is an observer. He no longer participates actively with responsibility for the outcome; he watches.

DEMONSTRATIONS. A demonstration is another means whereby a person can see how certain things are done. A coach demonstrates how to pass a football; a science teacher demonstrates the buoyancy of lighter-than-air gases; a mathematics teacher demonstrates the use of a slide rule.

Demonstrations may require nothing more than observation on the part of the person instructed, or he may be asked to do what he has just been shown how to do. Whether the demonstration is to be followed by this "doing" on the part of the learner depends on the nature of the teaching problem. We see that the spectator may be asked to be an actor as a part of a teaching process.

FIELD TRIPS. On a field trip we often see other people doing things. We watch them and note the meaning of their actions. As spectators, we are not responsible for what happens—we are on the side lines, without authority or ability to alter the event. We merely watch it unfold.

When observation is combined with participation the field trip becomes more meaningful. Such a variation of the field trip indicates again how the bands of the cone, in actual practice, interlap and blend into one another. The cone of experience is by no means a perfect representation of the different levels of abstraction but merely an illustrative device to accent certain points.

Exhibits. It is not easy to place "exhibits" on the cone. Sometimes they consist only of working models arranged in a meaningful display. Sometimes they are a series of photographs, or of photographs mixed with models and charts. We shall keep our bearings if we remember that an exhibit is essentially something one sees as a spectator. A mock-up is seen by a spectator, but the spectator also operates some of the spread-out materials, or is otherwise engaged in doing. Usually one is not involved in handling anything or working the materials, though a few complicated exhibits have included such added sensory experiences. When they do, of course, the learning can become that much more meaningful.

Motion Pictures and Television. The motion-picture and television experience, unlike the field trip, unfolds with a compression of time and space. All the firsthand experience is not there. But this loss in directness and the fact that experience is compressed have compensating advantages. The motion picture can omit unnecessary and unimportant material and concentrate upon a few selected points.

Motion pictures present an abstracted version of the real event, with consequent losses as well as gains. It may be easier to understand than a more direct experience. A deliberate and contrived order has been imposed on the material, an order different from the reality itself.

The motion picture and television can also dramatize events so effectively that we feel as though we are physically present at events which have transpired or actually are occurring, as in the case of "live" television programs.

Radio, Recordings, Still Pictures. It is difficult to place radio recordings and still pictures on the cone. Radio uses both words and sound, as in music. It may or may not be hard to understand, but except for "natural sounds" it is on an abstract level. The still picture, whether shown as a photograph or as a projected film strip or a slide, has usually had the depth dimension removed. The film strip differs from both the glass slide and the photograph by using photographs in a fixed order.

Visual Symbols: Charts, Graphs, Maps, Etc. When we enter the next stage on the cone, we no longer have the realistic picture of the thing itself but an abstract representation. With charts, graphs, and maps, we no longer deal with literal reality but with substitutes. We communicate by means of a new language—the medium of visual symbols. A chart may use a dollar sign or a drawing of a coin to represent money. It may use a pie to represent $1 of federal tax money, and a slice of the pie (part of the $1) for federal expenditures. A graph may use a line to show growth and progress—a line which shows a rise or fall in the number of children afflicted with polio, drinking milk, etc.

VERBAL SYMBOLS—PINNACLE OF THE CONE. The next and final stage brings us to verbal symbols—designations that have no resemblance to the objects or ideas for which they stand. We are, in short, dealing with abstractions.

Though certain spoken words are held to be imitations of the things they stand for (onomatopoeic words like *whir*, *swish*, *crackle*), once they are conveyed through verbal symbols transcribed on paper they have lost their last direct contact with reality.

The pinnacle of the cone is not a rarefied height frequented only by great intellects, for even a child who can read and write makes use of verbal symbols. Indeed, the reading-writing processes, unfortunately, often begin at the pinnacle of the cone in our elementary schools.

The cone of experience is a metaphor and like all metaphors needs careful interpretation. We cannot neatly classify all instructional experiences the way a literal interpretation of the cone would suggest, but the writer believes that it will be helpful as we realize the enormously difficult problems of international communication.

TEXTBOOKS AS TEACHING MATERIALS

Where do textbooks fit into the instructional patterns of the present? It is easy to criticize textbooks. Some say that it is not wise to have so much information organized and laid out in advance for children, that textbooks are dry as dust, that they do not meet the needs of the young, that they violate sound learning theory. Yet there are textbooks which are interesting, exciting, important, which help promote planning and indeed do many of the good things that all of us are interested in. Above all, textbooks are universally used in elementary schools and if only because of their prevalence deserve attention in a treatment of teaching materials.

ARE TEXTBOOKS "GOOD" OR "BAD"? Blanket approvals or disapprovals of textbooks are meaningless. A textbook in literature merely may be the reprinting of a number of plays with very few comments or questions by the author of the anthology. The textbook in the elementary social science may be designed to aid in teaching pupils to look more intelligently at the concrete world about them. It may be well illustrated and embody many of the devices referred to in the cone of experience. The good text may even have motion pictures and film strips developed specially in connection with it. A textbook, conversely, can be a series of wooden exercises totally unrelated to the needs of the pupil in reading, writing, listening, or speaking.

Some texts provide a backbone, a framework, a skeleton—and sometimes good flesh is on the bones. And some have provided a necessary systematic approach to development of generalizations, skills, and attitudes.

There is, in short, danger that in discussing learning materials we will make the assumption that a basic choice has to be made: either use a textbook, or reject the textbook and use a rich variety of environmental materials. Thus a teacher may reject a textbook in arithmetic and put major reliance on firsthand experiences without sensing that the use of texts is not an either-or proposition.

A WORD ON THE WORKBOOK. If we think of learning as traveling the route toward conceptualization, toward generalization, toward making the concrete experience usable, we must think seriously about the transition experiences. This problem bears on the question of the role of workbooks in elementary schools.

Right now, in a subject like arithmetic, our abler teachers, both young and old, sense the need for direct, rich experience. But many school workers have mastered neither the theory nor the practice of the middle steps toward conceptualization, have not introduced the contrived experiences to bridge this gap.

We need practice materials and specific devices to bridge the gap between the rich, direct, personal experiences in number and quantity and the abstract, generalized, impersonal concepts of number. Perhaps this bridging can be done through more adroit and less mechanical workbooks. Perhaps it can be done equally well or better through devices such as the abacus, or learning counters of various kinds. Ably conceived and wisely used, however, workbooks can be helpful. But the utmost caution must be exercised to insure that they are not used stupidly.

We sometimes have a similar gap between the direct experience and the abstract in reading. For twenty years we have placed much emphasis on reading readiness. We realized that many of the concepts taught were relatively meaningless to the child and so we have aimed for rich direct experience with animals, with the farm, with plants, to build meaning before reading experiences are begun. This is all to the good especially when these experiences are valuable in themselves. But we must also remember that all children come to school with some rich experiences, with some concepts that are vigorous and dynamic. The big problem is to move from this rich, meaningful, personal experience again to the impersonal symbol. Perhaps films and film strips can be of value here as an intermediary agency. Texts and even workbooks, indeed, all kinds of aids, may have a role in the teaching-learning situation as we move from concrete to abstract, from the direct to the symbolized aspects of experience.

Texts as Tools. I recall the remarks which two specialists in reading made, each about the other. One of them said the beginning reading program of the other was too formal; the other said, "His beginning reading work is not formal enough." An ever present dilemma in preparing instructional materials is to know when and how to introduce form, structure, organization, system.

Teachers are trying to keep their pupils traveling a route from relatively undifferentiated, direct personal experience to specialized, differentiated, conceptualized experience. All children must travel this route. Some can make generalizations faster than others but the final goal is the need for well-organized, usable generalizations. This may call for a textbook or a workbook, a book to aid the learning of generalizations or no book at all.

In all of this discussion of the textbook there are either implicit or explicit ideas about the importance of knowledge. A reaction against the fact that some schools and colleges may overemphasize memorization of material in textbooks *must not lead us to reject knowledge itself*. Tested knowledge, whether in the field of hygiene or grammar, or whatever the area, is of extraordinary importance.

In general our idea that we should use factual material in order to solve problems or answer questions is a good one. But it may be too narrowly interpreted as always getting answers to specific, personal problems. There are some children who read simplified encyclopedias all the way through. One could hardly argue that all of the knowledge therein answered some personal problem unless one said what is actually true—that there are those youngsters who are trying to find out everything that is in the encyclopedia. They want to get an answer to the question "What are these books all about?" One of the characteristics of some bright children, it may be noted in passing, is that they read right ahead in a dictionary.

A good deal of study also needs to be made in terms of abilities and backgrounds of children with reference to textbooks. We usually assume that little children can take little steps toward big goals and that brighter, abler children can take big steps toward big goals. But children are so different in their temperaments and backgrounds that merely shortening up the steps toward the same goals will not always do the trick.

This point leads me to still another. It is that a great deal of our discussion often assumes that the child is to be taught individually. We *talk* about meeting individual needs, and note the individual backgrounds of children. *But we are not tutors of one child.* With thirty children in a room and with, let us say, 250 minutes of instruction in a school day, one has at most a mere eight minutes of teaching time per child—a pretty meager amount, and some teachers have fifty pupils or more in their classrooms. Therefore, we must develop materials that all children can use and at the same time work to create opportunities for individual attention. If one explanation, one set of instructions can be used by most children, we have saved just that much time and energy. It is not invariably necessary or uniformly practical even to try to make all instruction individual.

I have long been struck with the naïve faith that a surprising number of teachers have in a textbook. If such books prove ineffectual these teachers accept modest changes in textbooks, seemingly with the expectation that now everything will work out well. The real deficiency here is the failure of the teacher to see herself as one of the major sources of ideas for the youngsters. No book, in fact, no teaching material, is more effective than the person determining how it is used in the classroom. I am reminded of a high-school history class which was studying the period around 1848 when so many European revolutions erupted. The teacher made not one single reference to the current day, which makes the revolutions of 1848 seem meager by comparison. And, when all is said, the only reason for teaching about the revolutions of 1848 would be to build an understanding of contemporary revolutions.

The above anecdote illustrates the fact (as does the example to follow) that *how* subject matter is presented by the teacher is as important as the teaching materials, or their absence, in determining the quality of instruction. I remember a teacher of science. The class was studying the circulatory system and the teacher added a great deal of information from her own background as to causes of nosebleed, the scientific basis for stopping it, etc. I found she was a biology major in a leading university and was studying for an advanced degree. She was full of her subject and was able to illuminate the ideas in the text herself.

THE AUDIO-VISUAL CENTER

If we provide a rich variety of learning experiences, it is necessary to make sure that these experiences are manageable, that they can be properly administered. If there are to be field trips, for instance, certain housekeeping details must be arranged. There must be preplanning of the trip, arrangements for transportation, telephone calls or letters to the place visited, arrangements for guides, and the like.

If we are to use films, teachers must know what films or film strips are available, know what is in them, and know their strengths and weaknesses. These films must be ordered and must reach the class when the unit or chapter is under study—not six weeks ahead or after.

Perhaps models or maps are being used. They must be easily available or, if kept in the room, must be usable, not torn or on rollers that no longer work.

Or a projector may be required. Who will run it? How can conflicts with other users be avoided? Will the projector really work or will it have a burned-out bulb or need to be cleaned and oiled?

We are shifting in our teaching materials from the horse-and-buggy stage to the stage of the automobile and the jet airplane. Instead of a little oats and hay, we now need super-highways, gasoline stations, up-to-date road maps, special driver training, and numerous service stations. Communication has been speeded up.

These changes in ways of teaching make the administration of audio-visual materials more serious. It will often require a catalogue of materials issued by a central office or through what is sometimes called an audio-visual center. Each teaching device or film or film strip should be described and have a catalogue number. Orders must be sent in periodically by the teacher. It is essential that there be thoughtful curriculum planning.

Teacher education is also affected. In teacher-education classes and in other college classes students must become familiar with the available films, recordings, and similar materials. A teacher of science, for example, should have seen during his college career as many as possible of the key teaching films in his field. He should have experienced the effects of the skillful use of new-type mediums. He should, in short, have been taught as he will later teach.

Alice H. Hayden[6] has done a creditable job of enumerating the activities of an audio-visual center. Her list of functions is as follows:

1. Providing information relative to materials and equipment available.
2. Suggesting criteria for selection and evaluation of different types of materials.
3. Offering instruction on the operation of new equipment or providing demonstrations.
4. Helping teachers to correlate instructional activities or in working out special teaching problems.
5. Suggesting professional studies and articles for improving instruction.
6. Suggesting techniques and methods for most effective utilization of materials.
7. Facilitating the ordering and scheduling of special materials and equipment.
8. Motivating teachers by giving them help and encouragement in their work. This may sometimes be accomplished through conferences, institutes and in-service programs.
9. Encouraging teachers to make suggestions regarding application of materials and equipment to their particular grade level or subject matter area.
10. Giving recognition to superior teaching and providing opportunities for exchange of information among teachers through group or committee activities.

Six Generalizations Bearing on Teaching Materials

The preceding discussion of teaching aids, including textbooks and workbooks, has been so brief as to suggest the need for a few generalizations regarding this special field which is only beginning to have the impact it will one day have on the classroom and—for that matter—on the lives of all Americans.

---

[6] Alice H. Hayden, writing in *Educational Leadership* for January, 1948, pp. 240-243.

First, the implications for more effective learning inherent in teaching materials are tremendous. Today an elementary teacher can have at his fingertips maps, globes, models, motion pictures, film strips, dramatization, radio, television, recording devices, field trips, and many other avenues to concrete and semiconcrete experiences for youngsters. Tomorrow the list may be so great as to seem fantastic to the teacher of today.

Second, the school of the past overstressed the importance of information divorced from rich, full meaning. Children's introduction to a field of study started at an abstract, impersonal level and did little to reconstruct their lives. Current thinking in the field of teaching aids reverses this approach. Children are, or should be, prepared to cope with the abstractions of adult life by first being introduced to concrete firsthand experience or its closest equivalents.

Third, the sound approach involving teaching materials seeks to *un*cover the ground rather than to cover it. We do not try to teach a century and a half in a page and a half. A limited amount of rich experience is probed more deeply.

Fourth, consummate skill and a substantial measure of good judgment are demanded of today's teachers in helping children move from concrete to abstract, from the comprehensible specific to the increasingly general. Teaching aids are a means to this end.

Fifth, textbooks should neither be naïvely accepted nor peremptorily rejected. Many of these books, in certain fields, are important resources and may help to unify portions of group experience. Texts can, however, be better written, more experimentally developed. The profession must encourage and support publishers who are willing to pioneer. Sometimes publishers lose money on materials which the profession is not yet ready to accept because many teachers are accustomed to the unimaginative or mediocre.

Sixth, the best "teaching aids" are able teachers and inventive, imaginative children. They need to share their experiences among one another. Learning proceeds best in such a mood of mutuality.

SUMMARY

Teaching materials have a long history. Only in the recent past, however, have such aids achieved their full stature as an integral part of good teaching and learning.

A wide variety of experience, from the most concrete to the most abstract, is a part of education. Each kind of experience has its contributive role in education; each must be understood by the teacher. The "cone of experience" is a graphic means of communicating this concept.

Textbooks, as our most widely used instructional aids, save for the spoken word, have been too frequently ignored as a significant element (for better or worse) in elementary schools. They are neither as good nor as bad as their proponents and opponents, respectively, make them out to be. More time needs to be spent in studying ways of improving them and using them more intelligently.

The chapter concluded with several generalizations abstracted from the general discussion of instructional aids.

REFERENCES

ASSOCIATION FOR CHILDHOOD EDUCATION INTERNATIONAL, *Portfolio of Audio-Visual Materials*. Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1951.

BATCHELDER, H. T. (ED.), *Audio-Visual Materials in Teacher Education*. Lock Haven, Pa.: The Association for Student Teaching, 1950.

DALE, EDGAR, *Audio-Visual Methods in Teaching*. New York: The Dryden Press, 1946.

DE BERNARDIS, AMO, *Audio-Visual Projectionist's Handbook*. Chicago: Business Screen, n.d.

EAST, MARJORIE, *Display for Learning*. New York: The Dryden Press, 1952.

HARCLEROAD, FRED, AND ALLEN, WILLIAM, *Audio-Visual Administration*. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Company, 1951.

JUNIOR TOWN MEETING LEAGUE, *Using Current Materials*. Columbus, Ohio: The League, n.d.

KINDER, JAMES S., *Audio-Visual Materials and Techniques*. New York: American Book Company, 1950.

KINNEY, LUCIEN, AND DRESDEN, KATHERINE, *Better Learning Through Current Materials*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1949.

KLEINSCHMIDT, H. M., *How to Turn Ideas into Pictures*. New York: National Publicity Council for Health and Welfare Services, 1950.

MCCLUSKY, F. D., *The Audio-Visual Bibliography*. Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Company, 1950.

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION, Forty-Eighth Yearbook, *Audio-Visual Materials of Instruction*. Chicago: The Society, 1949.

OLSON, O. J., *Education on the Air*. Columbus: Publications Office, The Ohio State University, n.d.

SHAYON, R. L., *Television and Our Children*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1951.

SIEPMANN, CHARLES, *Radio, Television, and Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950.

WITTICH, W. A., AND SCHULLER, C. F., *Audio-Visual Materials: Their Nature and Use*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953.

CHAPTER XI

Experimental Centers as Trail-Breakers and Accelerators in Curriculum Change[1]

THROUGHOUT the first half of the twentieth century, experimental centers have been among the creative and effective influences in accelerating curriculum change in the schools of America. Some experimental centers developed in the United States before this time, of course. However, it is during the early three or four decades of this century that the number of such schools increased and their status was understood and respected.

When compared with the total number of schools in the country, the number of experimental centers has been small; yet their influence has been widespread and of genuine significance. Also, interest in them has been great, both in educational circles and on the part of the public at large. Such centers have stirred up controversy, jogged educational complacency. Reverberations and ramifications of the issues raised are still much before us here at mid-century.

The creation of schools or centers to illustrate, to establish, or to provide a practical test in experience of some educational theory or insight has a history that reaches back into European life and thought. Throughout the centuries, changing ideas concerning human nature, man's relation to nature, learning and intelligence, and man's relation to society have served as motivation for educational reform. Most such centers have risen as protests against the *status quo* in education at the time of their inception.

In the United States, experimental educational centers have arisen in a variety of situations in response to a twofold need: first, to develop, amplify, and refine an education more in line with the fundamental aspirations of the American dream; second, to make the schools more congruent with the newer discoveries and theories concerning the nature of learning and its relation to living. Within these schools experimental efforts have been directed toward evolving a program of learning that more adequately takes into account the needs and characteristics of children and youth, the conditions and problems of present life, and the democratic values, skills, and processes. Through the use of appropriate scientific procedures the effectiveness of certain practices has been tested out in many of the centers and the results, in turn, have modified the evolving program. Schools thus engaged have served in many ways as trail breakers to the growing edge of the main stream of educational planning and development in the United States.

---

[1] This chapter was written by Rose Lammel, New York University.

The elementary schools of the country especially have been influenced by the shared insights, innovations, and tested procedures emanating from the experimental efforts of these centers. The character and the quality of the programs developed in some of these laboratory situations have stimulated distinct changes in the educational scene. As such, they contribute to lifting the general level of aspiration as to what constitutes a good education for boys and girls in our times.

AMERICA AND THE EXPERIMENTAL VIEWPOINT

The emergence and development of many of the experimental centers in our country are an expression of a point of view and a faith in a way of working that is an aspect of the central core of American character and mood. In order to see this development in education in its proper perspective it is important to recognize and appreciate the extent to which the experimental point of view came to have meaning and dignity in life as it evolved in the New World. Many circumstances, conditions, forces, and ideas surrounding the development of the new continent combined to furnish soil for the flourishing of the experimental point of view in all, or most all, areas of living, and eventually to lend encouragement and support to experimental attitudes and processes in education.

American readiness "to see if it works" has provided a favorable atmosphere for a spirit of inventiveness and experimentation in education.

A sense of this spirit indigenous to developing America is clearly indicated in the following words of Henry Steele Commager:

> With optimism went a sense of power and vast resources of energy. The American had spacious ideas, his imagination roamed a continent, and he was impatient with petty transactions, hesitations and timidities. To carve a farm out of a square mile or a ranch out of a hundred square

miles, to educate millions of children, to feed the western world with his wheat and corn, did not appear to him to be remarkable.[2]

Recognizing the interplay of the many forces, circumstances, and ideas upon the people in the New World, in taking stock of the basic characteristics of the nineteenth-century American, Commager has also pointed to the developing American mood "to try things out."

> The inclination to experiment was deeply ingrained in the American character and fortified by American experience. America itself has been the greatest of experiments, one renewed each generation of pioneers and each wave of immigrants. . . . He [the American] was always ready to do things which he had not done before. . . . Pioneering had put a premium on ingenuity and handiness.[3]

Within the framework of this optimism, this energy, this inventive ingenuity, spurred onward by a deep appreciation of the dignity and worth of the individual, faith in the capacity of each for self-improvement, and the desire to provide equal opportunities for all to develop to their maximum stature, our forefathers over the years brought into being one of the most important social innovations of all time: a national system of schools. Near the close of the eighteenth century they gave official voice to their deep and abiding faith in education when they wrote into the Ordinance of 1787, "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and to the happiness of mankind, schools and the means for education shall forever be encouraged." Being practical men they also decreed that the income from the sale of certain specified sections of land was to be used for the support of common schools. By 1890 a measure of acceptance of public education—free, tax-supported, intended for children of all the people—had been achieved.

DEMOCRATIC SCHOOL AND AUTHORITARIAN TRADITIONS

A PARADOX. The establishment of common schools came about through the interplay of the inherited ideas, concepts, and values from the Old World and the environmental factors and forces of the New. It has been pointed out that, while the process of establishing the common school was a great democratic achievement, much of the program of learning experiences offered to the children of the young democracy could be traced to the authoritarian concepts of education and of life inherited from Europe.[4] This paradox in itself has been one of the great problems with which educational reform in America has had to struggle and continues to struggle.

---

[2] Henry Steele Commager, *The American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), p. 6.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

From the beginning these schools have served the people significantly. From the beginning the character and needs of the people have impinged upon these schools and brought about practical changes in the programs offered. It is also true that as new knowledge concerning basic human needs and learning was discovered and new insights into the role of the schools in society evolved, doubts began to stir in some minds as to whether the programs commonly offered in the schools provided the best possible educative experiences for the young. In time questions began to arise as to the quality of schooling provided. Did it enlist the interest and the effort of the young? Did it amplify and implement adequately the great concepts upon which American civilization was founded?

STRUGGLES AGAINST THE PARADOX. In 1875, a school board member in Quincy, Massachusetts, convinced his fellow members that the schools should be appreciably modified so as to curtail the influence of the doctrine of mental discipline and to emphasize contemporary life more than the "philological and archeological study of the dead days." Through the appointment of Francis W. Parker as Superintendent of Schools, the Quincy Board of Education set in motion the historic vitalization of their schools. (It is a matter of more than historical interest that Parker and his associates soon ran afoul of the conservative educational interests of their day, and the schools subsequently were surveyed to determine whether the children in addition to being "amused and happy" really learned the "three R's." The results of the survey exonerated Colonel Parker and his educational innovations.)

John Dewey wrote in 1893, "If I were asked to name the most needed of all reforms in the spirit of education I would say: Cease conceiving of education as mere preparation for later life and make it the full meaning of present life."[5] A curriculum report of the National Society of Education made in the early twenties opens with the sentence, "Not once in a century and a half of national history has the curriculum caught up with the dynamic content of American life."[6] An eloquent argument "that traditional esteem is an insufficient offset to present and future uselessness" was presented by Dr. Abraham Flexner in 1917 in his famous statement *A Modern School*, a proposal for experimentation out of which the Lincoln School grew. The following excerpt from this tract epitomizes the revolt against traditional school procedures which was then brewing:

---

[4] See George S. Counts, *Education and American Civilization* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952), p. 25.

[5] Quoted by Benjamin Fine in the New York *Times*.

> It is therefore still true that the bulk of the time and energy of our children at school is devoted to formal work developed by schoolmasters without close or constant reference to genuine individual or social need. The subjects in question deal predominately with words and abstractions, remote from use and experience; and they continue to be acquired by children because the race has formed the habit of acquiring them, or more accurately, the habit of going through the form of acquiring them rather than because they serve the real purposes of persons living today.[7]

Such dissatisfactions with the traditional program of education, the new knowledge and insights, the American tendency toward inventiveness all have given impetus to the creation of experimental centers in education as a means for accelerating educational reform.

THE DEEP ROOTS OF EXPERIMENTAL EDUCATION

The twentieth century marks the era in the United States of greatest acceleration in the creation and development of elementary schools to explore, try out, or demonstrate emerging concepts of education. Important efforts in this direction had appeared in Europe, however, before this time. In fact, the experimental schools of our land are indebted to the European centers and the ideas which they sought to exemplify in practice.

It is practically impossible to get a reasonable perspective on the significance of experimental educational centers, anywhere, any time, without seeing each in relation to the culture in which it developed, the dominating institutions, and the beliefs held, as well as the new ideas and insights that were struggling to emerge at the time of inception of each center.[8] Even the concepts and attitudes toward change, its desirability and possibilities, prevalent at the time a given school was established need to be taken into account in evaluating the degree of creativeness and effectiveness of its role as an instrument of educational reform. In tracing the influence of these educational innovations as instruments for accelerating curriculum change, it is important also to learn how other educators and the public at large came to know about the theories underlying these ventures and the specific practices created to implement these theories.

---

[6] National Society for the Study of Education, *Twenty-Sixth Yearbook*, Part I, "Curriculum-Making: Past and Present" (Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1926), p. 3.

[7] Abraham Flexner, *A Modern School* (New York: Publications of the General Education Board, Occasional Papers, No. 3, 1917).

[8] See R. Freeman Butts, *A Cultural History of Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1947).

In considering the matrix in Europe out of which the early experimental schools emerged, the rise of science with its roots in a spirit of inquiry which began with the Renaissance must be recognized as one of the most influential factors. Based in part upon early scientific discoveries, the emergence of a social philosophy which tended to dignify the common man and to express faith that man could gain an increasingly efficient control of natural forces led thinkers in the forefront to turn to proposals for changing the schooling of the young in order to facilitate more widespread achievement of the rising social ideals.

Many ideas for change in the schooling of children were expressed in Europe before practical demonstrations were undertaken. Space limitations preclude mention of more than two of the pioneer European endeavors to explore and demonstrate in practice better schooling for children. The experimental schools of both Pestalozzi and Froebel have had profound influence on the theory and practice of modern elementary education in the United States.

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), a Swiss educational reformer who has often been called the father of the modern elementary school, was responsible for the initiation of several experimental schools. He was strongly oriented to the emerging humanitarian and democratic tendencies of his day. He was motivated by a faith in the possibilities of regenerating and dignifying the common man through helping him to help himself. He had read Rousseau's *Emile* and was moved to establish a refuge and school for destitute children; in his work with them he proceeded to translate into practice many of Rousseau's theories concerning freedom, growth, interest, and activity.

Pestalozzi's deep-seated feeling that education is individual development and that instruction should be adapted to the individual child according to his changing, unfolding nature and stages of natural development influenced him to deviate drastically from the teaching methods of his day. He held that the natural interests and drives of the child, rather than external coercions and compulsions, should provide the motives for learning. He believed that cooperation and sympathy were more effective than physical punishment in achieving discipline. He created a whole range of activities in which the children engaged to foster the development of sight, touch, and sound.

The intellectual and social climate of his time was not favorably disposed toward any such practical performance and the career of the educator was a series of heartaches and frustrations. In spite of the many difficulties that ensued and lack of sympathy with which many of the innovations in Pestalozzi's schools were regarded, their influence on elementary education generally has been significant. Pestalozzi wrote concerning his ideas and experiences. Many people came to observe the schools and to carry back enthusiasm for what they saw. He also opened an institute for the training of teachers which attracted many visitors from many lands.

A second creative venture in European education which has had definite bearing upon subsequent educational programs in America was the establishment of schools for very young children by Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852). He had taught with Pestalozzi and then developed his own schools in Switzerland and Germany. Froebel has been called the first educational evolutionist. To him education was the process by which society and the individual evolve to higher levels to the end of time.

Froebel contended that the educative process should begin with the small child of three or four years and that the characteristic methods of growth and learning for young children are through play activities. Froebel firmly believed that learning is acquired only by self-activity and that doing must go hand in hand with learning. In his schools singing, dancing, drawing, clay modeling, painting and coloring, building with blocks, using cubes and balls were demonstrated as being satisfactory education experiences for the young. Froebel's influence led to a greater emphasis on activity in learning, to the lessening of the rigid discipline and formal atmosphere of schools, and to the inclusion of good social relationships as one of the objectives of education. His schools were visited extensively by people from many countries including the United States. In 1826 he wrote a most significant book, *The Education of Man*. Many of the concepts that found expression years later in America in the "child-centered school" were inherent in Froebel's early work with his kindergarten.

Both these pioneers, like their educational descendants, met with lack of sympathy and understanding. Opposition and resistance to educational innovation and change have a long history, too. However, the kernels of the major ideas evolved by Pestalozzi and Froebel through their pioneer educational experimenting are today a part of the heritage of the modern elementary school in America. Ideas concerning creativeness, cooperation, activity, growth, and freedom have become inextricably interwoven in our aspirations for a good education for all our children.

The Rise of Experimental Schools in the United States

Some Bases of American Experimentalism. Schools initiated to foster educational experimentation and reconstruction and to evolve practical demonstrations of the emerging theories in action began to appear in the United States around the turn of the century. At that time the combination of a number of significant strands of influence in the American culture contributed to the development of a climate of opinion particularly conducive to the initiation of experimental efforts to build better schools. The drive for the evolution of better schools was but one phase of the advancing spirit, ideas, and ideals coming to the forefront.

Every aspect of American life was feeling the impact of the rise and spread of modern science with its experimental methods and spirit of inquiry. The epochal generalizations of Darwin concerning evolutionary change and the practical experiences of the people in fashioning out a life that was "something different under the sun" gave firsthand evidence that all things were not settled for all time and provided tremendous impetus to faith in being able to bring about change in the many areas of living. The continuing democratic ideals of liberty, equality, and social progress and the widespread faith in universal education as an instrument of social progress were much in evidence. At the same time changes in the dominant beliefs about how people learn and the function of learning were challenging traditional school procedures. New instruments of measurement and computation such as intelligence and achievement tests were being developed and gave promise of contributing to a more objective basis for curriculum change.

The emergence in this setting of the indigenous philosophy of experimentalism with its experimental way of interpreting life, experience, and knowledge became one of the most potent forces in motivating active educational reform. The core of this philosophy of life, brought into being primarily by the works of Peirce, James, and Dewey, interpreted and amplified by Kilpatrick, Bode, Raup, and Childs,[9] is the belief that the good life is most nearly realized when maximum individual and social growth is taking place through the continuous process of reconstructing experience. Education is considered to be creative. Knowledge and power to think are valued only insofar as they improve conduct. In order to learn it is believed that the learner must be engaged willingly, actively, and as a whole in his learning. Child purposing, freedom, active participation, experimentation, group association are held to be essential in the educative process.

JOHN DEWEY'S LABORATORY SCHOOL. It is not surprising that Professor Dewey, who was so instrumental in developing the philosophy of experimentalism and who believed that "the only place in which a comprehensive theory of knowledge can receive an active test is in the process of education," turned to the development of a school to explore the ramification of these ideas for a good education for children. In 1896 the Dewey Laboratory School, the first real laboratory school in the country, came into existence at the University of Chicago.

The school was a cooperative venture of parents, teachers, and pupils under the direction of John Dewey and his wife. In working out the basic underlying concepts in practice, this early experimental school in America, like the schools of Pestalozzi and Froebel, deviated fundamentally in organization, in curriculum experiences, in ways of working with children from the accepted patterns of that time.

In an appendix to a report on the school Dewey has written:

> The problem of the relation between individual freedom and collective well-being is today as urgent and acute, perhaps, as at any one time in the past. The problem of achieving both of these values without the sacrifice of either one is likely to be the dominant problem of civilization for many years to come. The schools have their part to play in working out the solution and their own chief task is to create a form of community life and organization in which both of these values are conserved. The school whose work is reported in this volume was animated by a desire in ad-

---

[9] See John L. Childs, *Education and Morals: An Experimental Philosophy of Education* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950).

ministration, selection of subject matter, methods of learning, teaching and discipline to discover how a school could become a cooperative community while developing in individuals their own capacities and satisfying their own needs.[10]

The school was designed to try out in practice the theories Dewey and his associates were evolving concerning experience, growth and continuity, problem-solving thinking, growth as a social process, and the wholeness of the response of the individual. The curriculum of the school was organized so as to provide children with opportunities to develop through a variety of firsthand experiences four impulses: the social impulse, the constructive impulse, the impulse to investigate and experiment, the expressive or artistic impulse. The program was organized, not around subjects, but around occupations directly related to the problems of living. Intellectual as well as manual activities were needed, and the ancient as well as the contemporary setting of selected occupations was studied. The "three R's" were taught as the need for them evolved in the ongoing work of the groups.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI ELEMENTARY SCHOOL. Another noteworthy laboratory school of the early twentieth century which sought to explore experimentally some of the new insights concerning education was the University of Missouri Elementary School. In 1904 J. L. Meriam initiated a new curriculum venture organized around observation, play, stories, and handwork with complete absence of conventional subjects. The curriculum experiences were designed to accomplish five major purposes: (1) to meet the needs of the pupils; (2) to provide for individual differences; (3) to provide for acquaintance with work and leisure; (4) to use the concrete everyday activities of pupils; (5) to allow for flexible interchange of topics within a grade and within the school.

COLLINGS' PROJECT METHOD EXPERIMENTS. In this setting, reference must be made also to Ellsworth Collings' experiment with the project curriculum in the rural schools of MacDonald County, Missouri, carried on from 1917 to 1921. Inspired by the teachings of William Heard Kilpatrick, Collings set out to test in practice the efficacy of this newer view in education. In setting up and evaluating this four-year experiment, some of the instruments of measurement available at that time were used in securing more objective interpretations. In the experimental school the children used a curriculum selected directly from their purposes in real life. The curriculum in the control schools was that indicated by the state course of study. The experimental group was found to have made superior gains in achievement in the "three R's" as measured by standard tests and when compared with national standards.

---

[10] John Dewey, in Katherine C. Mayhew and Anna C. Edward, *The Dewey School* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), Appendix II.

Additional data collected at the beginning and close of the experiment furnished evidence that the isolation of the experimental school from its community which existed at the beginning of the experiment had been for the most part broken down. In the experimental school community there were evidences of desirable changes in attitudes of children and parents toward the school and education, in the conduct of the pupils outside the school, and in many phases of community life. On the other hand, the control schools had made little progress during this same period in reducing their isolation from their respective communities. An analysis made of the ordinary activities in the control school districts indicated that practically no relationship existed between what the people did outside and what pupils did inside the school. A report of this study indicated that the experimental school "had changed from 'a ragged beggar sleeping' beside the road into a veritable social center, active in the improvement of community life."[11]

Any idea that the innovations of trail blazers such as Meriam or Collings were enthusiastically received or universally supported in their times would be a mistaken one. A point of view and a pattern of education entrenched in the thoughts and mores of the people for over two thousand years could not readily accept such revolutionary innovations or react to them lightly. The activity that characterized the work of the boys and girls in these schools was in such sharp contrast to the formal "quiet" schools that most persons, including many educators, rejected completely the premises upon which these centers of experimentation were founded.

The field of education itself has been marked by skepticism and controversy concerning the worthiness and the practicality of such innovations. The pages of educational history bear witness to the struggle. A quotation from the diary of William Heard Kilpatrick concerning the report of the Collings' experiment in Missouri furnishes one illustration of the differences in point of view:

---

[11] Ellsworth Collings, *An Experiment with a Project Curriculum* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923), p. 280.

> Attend Collings' examination for the doctorate. He does well, in fact, in comparison with himself, very well! But the crowd does not think so: (1) they do not for the most part have any grasp of his [Dewey's] position on the nature of the learning process (this includes all nearly . . .); (2) they fear the upsetting of tradition . . . ; they accordingly attack his presentation. . . . A shows anew his inability to question and so does not understand Collings. I felt I never saw a set of grown men so catching at straws to save themselves from thinking along a new line: A, B, and C each made such an exhibition of himself that I was sick at heart. E wanted to vote "no" straight out and so recorded his vote. E apparently so wished. C was gentlemanly as was B. In the end we decided to accept him on condition that he make changes satisfactory to the Committee on Higher Degrees. I write this in detail because I wish it to be written down that the future may see whether I with Collings am right or my dissenting colleagues are right.[12]

MODERN EXPERIMENTAL CENTERS SPEARHEAD CURRICULUM CHANGE

No one can possibly comprehend the trends of modern elementary education without some understanding and appreciation of the work of the experimental centers of this generation. Some are private schools, some public schools, and a number are, or have been, associated with institutions of teacher education. Great variation in concept of responsibility, motivation, areas of exploration, and extent of experimentation characterizes the activities of these centers. Throughout their existence some of these centers have continued to be objectively critical of their own experimentation and have been inclined to make changes in directions and processes as the need became apparent. Others have been less successful in maintaining a continuing objective attitude toward the evolving program and have tended to come entrenched and fixed in certain ideas and processes once found good.

The strategic position of many of these centers in the foreground of the national educational scene has tended to draw much attention to their work and the underlying theories. Their influence upon educational thought and practice has had far-reaching effects. No small part of the contribution of these centers has been the stimulation of more widespread activity and experimentation in educational improvement in many elementary schools throughout the nation.

---

[12] From the diary of William Heard Kilpatrick, November 20, 1922, quoted by Samuel Tenenbaum, *William Heard Kilpatrick: Trail Blazer in Education* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), p. 225.

To trace the stimulation for curriculum change in the elementary schools during the past thirty-five years is to identify the creative impact of such schools and centers as the Lincoln School of Teachers College, the Ohio State University School, Little Red School House, the Elementary School of the University of Iowa; public schools in Denver, Winnetka, Bronxville, Springfield, Missouri; cooperative centers with their associated schools such as the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation. Their histories of innovation, experimentation, and educational research are testimonials to a high level of professional zeal on the part of the participating staff. The record of the cooperative work of boys and girls, of teachers, of parents and other community members in each of these centers is a story of educational adventure at a high level of competency. Space available here does not permit anecdotal illustrations of the spirit of living and learning set in motion in these schools. Fortunately some of the centers have published some lively accounts of their programs in action, and these are in the nature of "required reading" for every student of elementary education.

Several of these schools (notably Lincoln School at Teachers College, the Ohio State University Elementary Schools and some of the private elementary schools), starting as completely new schools, founded for experimental purposes and relatively free from the restrictions of long-established policies, were able to cut loose boldly from traditional educational moorings and to experiment courageously with curriculums and teaching reforms. Among the major contributions of such schools are their pioneering efforts in freeing the curriculum from the domination of subject-matter categories and in evolving a plan of learning that recognized the wholeness of living, the wide range of environmental experiences and materials they used, and the taking into account of the role of interest and purposes in learning. Through the planning and organization of learning experiences around large problems, centers of genuine interest, or units of work, these schools have offered a practical demonstration of a more functional way of keeping the school experiences of children integrated with out-of-school life. Such organization of learning experiences has been demonstrated to be effective in developing worth-while interests and talents for cooperation on the part of boys and girls, and in providing a functional basis for the use of subject matter and the fundamental skills.

Results of experimentation in several of these centers, especially in the Elementary School of the State University of Iowa and in the Winnetka Public Elementary Schools, have provided guides to more effective ways of developing problem-solving abilities and of heightening learning of all the basic skills. Ways of spearheading curriculum change in public schools through development of pilot experimentation and demonstration have been illustrated by the Little Red School House. Cooperative arrangements between institutions of higher learning and associated public schools for accelerating curriculum change at the local level are being explored by a number of centers such as the Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation.

WHEN IS AN EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOL EXPERIMENTAL?

WHAT IS A LABORATORY SCHOOL? When is a "laboratory" school a laboratory? What makes an "experimental" school experimental? These are questions that have stirred up controversy in educational circles for some time. There seems to be some consensus that a laboratory school's function is to serve as an instrument for the study of significant educational problems in such a way as to discover and define broad principles. The adjective "laboratory" has been used in some instances where the school serves primarily as a practice school or as a demonstration school.

During a recent legal controversy concerning the continuation of a school for purposes of experimentation, witnesses who were specialists in education from all parts of the country, when questioned as to the number of laboratory schools now in existence, mentioned numbers ranging from five to two hundred.[13] Twenty years earlier, in appraising the contributions of laboratory schools at that time, the *Twenty-Sixth Yearbook* of the National Society for the Study of Education reported:

> Perhaps the first comment to be made is that there is no one type of experimental or laboratory school. In curricular organization they range all the way from schools organized almost definitely on a "subject basis" . . . to occasional schools . . . which are organized almost completely without reference to the conventional school subjects. Between these two extremes stand laboratory schools . . . [in which] the curriculum of the lower grades, while organized in part around "centers of interest,"

---

[13] Supreme Court of the State of New York, opinion of Mr. Justice Botein in *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 48, pp. 522-534.

provides at the same time a definite place in the school program for certain so called "school subjects."[14]

In considering the work of these pioneering schools and their methods of changing from the old mechanical regime, Harold Rugg wrote in 1947:

> Using the most liberal interpretation of the concept "laboratory experiment" and measured by the standards set by either the Dewey School or by Lincoln between 1920-26, there were not then more than 2 or 3 true "laboratory" schools in America. At the present moment there is none. As we move into the educational reconstruction of the post-war years, so far as total school experiments are concerned—we start from scratch—all over again.[15]

In addition to some fundamental differences in point of view, some of the conflicts and confusions have been aggravated by the lack of clarification of the meaning and use of the words "experiment" and "experimental" in the general sense and in the stricter scientific sense. Experimentation in the general sense has a long history in education. Controlled experimentation in education in the strict scientific sense is a development of the early decades of the twentieth century.

As has been pointed out previously, the concept of establishing schools for the purpose of putting ideas to the practical test, trying out the unknown, illustrating, developing in action, or testing through experience is not a recent development. Such relating to or basing on experience, such "innovations out of the previously untried" is experimental in the general sense of the word. In this sense the schools of Pestalozzi, Froebel, Dewey, and Meriam were experimental.

With the elaboration of the philosophy of experimentalism (with its fundamental beliefs in experience, in change, and in education as an instrument of individual and social development), experimental education was further refined and encouraged. Experimental education thus conceived is made explicit in a statement by Kilpatrick:

---

[14] National Society for the Study of Education, *Twenty-Sixth Yearbook*, Part I, "Curriculum-Making: Past and Present," p. 434.

[15] Harold Rugg, *Foundations for American Education* (Yonkers: World Book Company, 1947), p. 563.

> Experimental education as here discussed means the kind carried on in an experimental or laboratory school program is, by the way it is built, in continual process of experimental determination, and second, in that the program so built is itself an experiment in building the kind of mind and character needed for continual growth and toward the life counted good.
>
> To illustrate in current terms, suppose those running such a school conceive education as the conscious effort to assist and guide the young in growing up effectively into social life—to live well in it. Suppose further that they accept democracy, as the desirable way of life, and still further, believe that any one—child or adult—will learn anything for living purposes only as he lives that thing in its life setting, both in his heart and in his consistent outward conduct. As the teachers in such a school seek to provide suitable living conditions and beyond that try to stimulate, elicit and guide the pupil-living so that it will result in the kind of mind and character needed for continual growth in dynamic democratic living—as the teachers do so try, and in the degree they try, their effort will be characterized by continual experimentation. The educative results, socially considered, must be under continual criticism as to the degree in which they confirm the things experimentally done and the principles on which they were experimentally based. It is in these respects that such education is called experimental.[16]

This has been the spirit and process of experimental education in most of the pioneering progressive elementary schools. To what extent each was a "thought-out, designed experiment" and to what extent appropriate use was made of the methods of scientific inquiry in coming to generalizations are moot questions.

The methods of experimental laboratory science evolved during the nineteenth century, so dramatically successful in advancing the various fields of science and in accelerating the production of practical applications so useful to mankind, were bound in time to have their influence on efforts to change and improve education. In order to put the improvement of learning and teaching efficiency on a more rational basis, laboratory experimentation using strict scientific procedures was initiated. Advances in techniques for devising instruments for measuring intelligence and achievement and in the use of statistical methods encouraged and facilitated scientific experimentation in education. Designing such experimentation included the scientific precautions of involving only one significant variable, and using a control group for comparison. Out of these roots grew the scientific study of education in America, and strict scientific fact-finding methods began to be applied to educational problems. Experimenters and investigators began to compare the results of various methods of teaching through measurable outcomes.

---

[16] William Heard Kilpatrick on "Experimental Education," *Encyclopedia of Modern Education* (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1943), p. 291.

CONTRASTING VIEWPOINTS. These two major developments—(1) innovation of new ideas and (2) scientific, controlled study—in educational centers have tended to bring people to loggerheads in their interpretation of the term "experimental" in relation to the schools. Although each was markedly influenced by the rapidly advancing field of science and its methods of inquiry, there are areas in which each is extremely critical of the other's basic premises and interpretations, owing in part to a different over-all orientation to the school. Each in turn has influenced, modified, and enriched the other. The reports on the work of the laboratory schools and experimental centers clearly indicate that although each found its fundamental orientation in one or the other of these two major emphases, the influence of the other began to be amalgamated somewhat into the operation of the school.

The scientific movement in education has tended to stimulate many of these centers into taking a more objective view of their ways of working and into developing ways and means of securing more scientific information concerning the results obtained through exploring and amplifying an over-all conception of education. Much censure throughout the years has been leveled at many of the experimental schools for their neglect of the use of scientific methods of appraisal. "In retrospect, after thirty years of curriculum making in laboratory schools, one of the most regrettable wastes lies in the lack of definite scientific information concerning the results of these fine dynamic types of education." This was the severe criticism rendered by the National Society for the Study of Education in its *Twenty-Sixth Yearbook*.[17]

On the other hand, objections by educational philosophers and many leaders in the laboratory schools that the rigid adherence to the methods of experimentation so successful in the laboratories of physics and chemistry was not appropriate to the dynamics of education tended to influence the modification of experimental and research procedures. They have maintained that in many instances it is impossible to specify a sufficiently restricted experimental factor and at the same time be true to sound educational procedures. These criticisms have stimulated "experimentation in the methods of experimentation." Discussing this modification of procedures and its bearing upon modern education, Abelson has written:

---

[17] National Society for the Study of Education, *Twenty-Sixth Yearbook*, Part I, "Curriculum-Making: Past and Present," p. 438.

> There is today greater recognition of the role of evaluative and synthetic thinking in educational research and a fuller acceptance of the view that research method is not an iron-bound procedure, but rather the refinement of the process of problem-solving. Consequently the methodology of research follows the nature and needs of the problem situation. Such a view welcomes the utilization of all techniques that are appropriately applied.
>
> All that research methods signify is that thinking will be as systematic, unbiased and factual as circumstances permit.[18]

Today, benefited by both these influences and the refined insights emerging as the result of the controversy, we are in a better position than ever before in the history of America to develop truly effective centers of educational experimentation. That we need to do just that is clearly indicated.

THEY ARE NOT GUINEA PIGS

Parents do not always welcome experimentation in the schools. "I do not want my child to be a guinea pig!" has been the sincere plea of many a parent as he contemplated the participation of his offspring in an experimental program of education. Expressions of such concern long have been prevalent, especially in the public schools. The lament, in its very wording, reveals a basic misunderstanding concerning educational experimentation.

A POPULAR MISCONCEPTION REGARDING EXPERIMENTAL EDUCATION. Some of the misunderstandings and anxieties concerning school experimentation and the individual child's relation to it arise from the notion that the procedure of experimentation used in dealing with materials in science laboratories will be carried over, wholesale and unmodified, into the work with children. After all, in a society such as ours, one that has been characterized by rapid technological advances, the methods of experimentation in pure science have been well popularized in the press and the cinema. The role of the white rat, the guinea pig, the monkey in biological experimentation is fairly common knowledge. Most laymen have great respect for this process in the science laboratory, but when they interpret experimentation in the schools solely in this framework it is not surprising that anxieties concerning the role of school children in experimentation arise. Dr. Flexner was speaking of this same concern years ago when, at a parents' meeting at the Lincoln School in 1923, he pointed out that "Education is far from analogous to sciences like physics and chemistry. It bears a somewhat closer resemblance to medicine because the investigating physician cannot make too free with his patients, just as the investigating teacher cannot make too free with his pupils."[19]

---

[18] Harold H. Abelson, in *Encyclopedia of Modern Education*, p. 682.

THE NEED FOR PARENT PARTICIPATION. Some of the anxieties are due in part to the fact that many of the programs have been initiated without including parents in an orientation to the broader conceptions of experimental education and the premises upon which it rests. Then it must also be frankly admitted that the widespread acceptance of change in the many aspects of living in the twentieth century has not been wholeheartedly or generously extended to education.

What many a parent does not realize is that a scheme of education that is truly committed to democratic values and ethics will at all times prize the supreme worth and dignity of each child. Every child is precious simply because he is a child—a human being. An education operating within such a scheme of values will constantly be on guard to protect each child's right to develop to his maximum stature and will find it repugnant and despicable to contemplate or put into effect activities or procedures in the school that in any manner or form violate the basic human rights of individual children. Parents can give their child no greater guarantee of his inalienable rights as a human being than to insist upon the commitment of the total school to basic democratic tenets. It is interesting that such threats often are seen by them in school experimentation, while other violations of such rights now inherent in some of the procedures and the practices of the "regular" school program go unnoticed and unchallenged by many parents.

---

[19] Abraham Flexner, *The Factors of School Success* (an address to the Parent-Teachers Association of the Lincoln School of Teachers College, January 12, 1923), published by the Lincoln School of Teachers College.

On the other hand, it must be reported that many parents have sought out opportunities for their children to be involved in experimental programs. This has been the case especially in a number of the private experimental elementary schools which arose as the cooperative undertakings of parents and teachers who were revolting against the regimentation of the authoritarian school and the dry rot of its program. In these schools both the parents and the teachers have been motivated and sustained by the recognition that they were trying to work out an education that is closer to the lives and needs of their children and more related to some of the values of life they hold to be fundamental. In these experimental centers the children have come willingly to school and the parents have been *more than willing* that their boys and girls should be a part of an experimental program thus dedicated. This willingness can be attributed in large measure to the fact that the parents have participated from the beginning in the program and have understood and sanctioned the premises on which the venture was based.

It does seem there is a fundamental principle involved here that needs to be considered if receptivity to the experimentation in education is to be increased in the public schools. *Experimentation by consent* will involve the understanding and wholehearted commitment of parents, children, and teachers to what they are about in the process of evolving a better education for our times. No guinea pig on any level can be tolerated.

From Experimental Schools We Learn

No claim can be made that the elementary schools of America and the learning experiences of the boys and girls therein have been revolutionized by the work of experimental centers. Yet it is quite clear that these centers have been responsible for many fundamental and profound insights which have made their way into current educational theory and to a somewhat lesser degree into practice. The impact of these centers on the total educational scene has been way out of proportion to their numbers. They have indeed been a creative minority. As the panorama of these centers, their concerns and activities, is viewed (Horace Mann, Winnetka, Denver, Iowa University School, Lincoln, Little Red School House, Ohio State University School, Springfield, Missouri, and others), some of the strands of their major contributions to changing education come into sharper focus.

No one could possibly claim that all the innovations were constructive. In many instances the spirit of the revolt caused one poor practice merely to supersede another. Too, some ideas led down blind alleys. All new movements have their lunatic fringe—experimental education has been no exception. Yet out of the crucible of experience, controversy, and tested thought, some highly significant advances in educational concepts and practices have been distilled. More intelligent consideration of children, improved methods for living and learning, richer curriculum experiences for children in the elementary school have been explored by these schools and from them we have learned much.

It is important to remind ourselves again that, although these schools have definitely been on the "growing edge" of educational thought and practice, they have not been creative in a vacuum. They, too, have their roots and being in the social milieu of their times and have been influenced by the world conditions, the ideas, the aspirations, and the knowledge currently available. Several major clusters of ideas to which they have contributed materially and which they have illustrated creatively in practice will be considered here. They are all interrelated and actually cannot be separated except for purposes of discussion and emphasis.

CHILDREN'S NEEDS AND RIGHTS ARE RESPECTED. Children in modern elementary schools are deeply indebted to the experimental centers for their pioneer work in bringing the rights and needs of childhood to the forefront. In their efforts to extend the democratic rights to include children in a more tangible way, a new respect for boys and girls has been engendered which in turn has pointed up the necessity of studying child growth and development in order to teach them wisely.

Influenced by the scientific study of children and basic democratic orientations, appreciation of the *uniqueness of each child* was heightened. Awareness of differences in life histories, rate of growth and development, learning capacities, interests, and health was most influential in the development of learning experiences that took *individual differences* into account. These centers have been especially creative in illustrating how the needs and interests of individual children can be taken into consideration in rich experiences of associated living and learning in the elementary school. Some revolutionary changes in the elementary-school program resulted when teachers began to consider children as more than mere vessels to be "poured full" of knowledge.

Some of these schools first initiated learning-teaching situations that indicated a sensitivity to the fact that the *"whole child" comes to school*—or, for that matter, is involved in all that he does. Legs, arms, larynx, emotions, and feelings as well as mind have come into play in the educative process. These schools have demonstrated how all the factors in child life must be taken into account as the school plans and provides for a good life for childhood. *Concern for physical, mental, emotional, and social well-being* of each child has been reflected in the provision of health examinations, health and medical service, a good diet at school, more outdoor play, and a better rhythm of activity and rest in the day's schedule, and in the opportunities in the learning activities to meet the needs for security, for affection, and for belongingness. Closer ties have been developed with parents as means of better understanding the whole child and to facilitate the meeting of his needs.

In its earlier days, the pendulum of experimental practice did swing pretty far. It tended to direct most of its attention to the child to the exclusion of some other necessary facets of education. Out of this preoccupation and these enthusiasms, the "child-centered school" came into being. Since that time, influenced by other ideas and pressures, some of the extreme positions have been sloughed off and an important core of ideas has entered the blood stream of elementary education. Schools will never be the same again because of it.

INCREASED AWARENESS OF THE BREADTH OF EDUCATIVE EXPERIENCES. Experimental schools have led the way in demonstrating how the resources of the home, community, and school can be used more effectively in helping children understand modern life and grow in "at-homeness" in their world. The children have gone out into the community to see and to learn. The firehouse, the building project down the street, the market, the park, the radio station, the farm, the weather station, the museums and galleries contribute to the child's developing picture of his world. Parents and community helpers have come into the schools to share with children.

These schools have pioneered in ways of using all aspects of community life within the school as educative experiences in planning, sharing, assuming responsibilities, resolving conflicts, working for the common good. Using the health services available, sharing play space, the workshops, and the auditorium, learning the proper use and care of the drinking fountains and toilet facilities, maintaining a good lunchroom have been shown to be sources of important educative experiences. The resources of the school were extended to include painting, clay work, shop work, music, cooking, games, rhythms and dancing.

These ideas concerning the extended range of experiences that educate have in turn influenced the development of new types of books and other instructional materials. Through their innovations in using the experiences of boys and girls as points of departure in enriching and extending learning experiences, these schools were instrumental in breaking down the barriers of strict subject organization of curriculum experiences.

THE SCHOOL AS A WORKING DEMOCRACY. The experimental schools have led the way in growing from "listening schools" to working schools. They have illustrated how *wholehearted interests can be evolved and real problems solved by children and teachers planning together*. They have shown how skills in building, experimenting, measuring, exploring, interviewing, observing, reading, cooperating, conversing, dramatizing can be developed when following interests and solving problems that are genuine to the boys and girls. Creating a working environment for children has added tools, instruments, construction materials, paint, clay, workbenches, easels, movable tables and chairs to the traditional equipment of the school.

In this setting of meaningful activity they have experimented with ways of helping children grow in their abilities to work on group concerns as well as following through on individual personal interests. The working school has been shown to be a good laboratory in which children according to their abilities at each level of maturation find opportunities to participate in many phases of associated living and to become increasingly skillful in the use of the methods of cooperation. It is in the give-and-take of these ongoing group concerns of childhood that understanding of the relationship between freedom and responsibility can begin to evolve.

THE CENTRAL ROLE OF INTEREST AND PURPOSE. The fundamental significance of interest and purpose in the educative process has been made clearer as a result of the explorations of these schools into ways of developing learning experiences beginning with drives and concerns of children. They have demonstrated the importance of finding ways to build a deep and genuine concern on the part of children for necessary learnings. They have furnished some important clues as to how children's interests and purposes can be deepened and broadened through active participation in problem-solving situations.

Reports from a number of the schools which describe the undertakings of children give testimony to the scope and depth of interest, the determination and persistence, the work accomplished by boys and girls when their interests and purposes were intimately bound up with the work at hand. Studies have indicated that growth in creativeness, initiative, cooperativeness, as well as achievement in the so-called tool subjects is increased when the central role of interest and purpose is taken into account in curriculum experiences.

NEW CONCEPTS OF ACHIEVEMENT. Thanks to the experimentation and research carried on in several of these centers, schools are now able to identify certain aspects of achievement much more objectively. Many of these schools have provided pilot illustrations as to how such information can be used in diagnosing learning difficulties and in building a better program of learning for the children concerned. Examples of such use of the information have tended to discourage the use of it solely for marking or promoting pupils.

Amplification in practice of desirable objectives in educating for the democratic way of life, with the needed personal and social abilities, has tended to broaden the concept and range of school achievement. Growing in ability to make friends, to get along with people of all ages, to work for the welfare of the total group, to work cooperatively, to assume personal responsibility and follow through on it has come to be included as an important aspect of achievement in the elementary school.

The broadening concept of achievement in school has naturally had great influence in modifying not only the content but the manner of communicating with parents concerning the progress of their children in school. There has been increased awareness that home and school are interdependent in furthering the fundamental achievements of children in all aspects of living.

TEACHING: A NEW INTERPRETATION. Out of the efforts to change the school program so as to take into account the major ideas considered in the previous paragraphs, it was inevitable that a new conception of the role of the teacher in the learning-teaching process should emerge. The work of the teachers in these experimental schools has clearly demonstrated that to enlist the interests and purposes of children, to guide boys and girls into understanding of the life of their times, to help them grow in the skills and values needed for democratic living *makes demands upon the process of teaching that were not inherent in teaching in the conventional school.*

To be a teacher in the spirit of these experimental schools requires a deep and fundamental appreciation and understanding of childhood, a true "at-homeness" in the modern social scene, a deep and abiding commitment to basic democratic tenets, and a creative ability to work with children and adults in releasing the creative energies of all concerned. Many of the faculties in these new schools have illustrated abundantly how a high level of professional zeal and competency can be achieved and maintained through cooperative planning among themselves, through active participation in the life of the community, and through their own creative efforts to continue to grow as people. We have learned much from these trail breakers about teaching as a profession and as an art.

How Have We Learned?

To the extent that one of the major objectives of experimental centers is to influence and improve public education, it is important to ascertain what methods of communication have been devised by these centers for stimulating and accelerating curriculum change in schools throughout the land.

The open-door policy has been maintained by these laboratories. The schools have been open for all to see and thousands of visitors have been influenced by what they observed. Some of the centers have shared their experiences and findings through publications. Programs have been discussed at educational conferences. Many of the teachers have participated in programs of teacher education and in so doing have brought new theories, new insights, and practical illustrations to the profession. Some of the dynamics of the process have been dramatically stated by Rugg:

> A group founds a new school or college, or an individual reports novel curriculum experimentation. Discussion ensues, the plan is criticized and appraised. Revisions and modifications are made. Other schools imitate the new plan or are inspired to try something different. More discussion and critical appraisal follow. Wider and wider becomes the adoption of new forms. Groups form, a movement emerges, labels are attached, controversy arises and misunderstanding and cleavages develop, but both practice and theory have changed. This is one of the methods—carried to

greater success in the United States, which has been chronically more hospitable to innovation, variation and experiment than in any other country in the world.[20]

No one can deny that these ways of communicating have made for wider distribution of the ideas and innovations arising in these centers, which in turn have influenced the acceleration of curriculum change in elementary schools throughout the United States. On the other hand, when the total educational scene is viewed, some discouraging evidence presents itself with regard to the gulf between widely accepted current theory and the meagerness of actual curriculum changes.

This seemingly unreasonable lag and the urgent need to facilitate and to speed up curriculum change has tended to focus more attention on the processes by which educational reform can be accelerated. Mort and Cornell in the report of a study to determine how adoption of acceptable practices could be speeded up in the public schools have commented that "One cannot but marvel at the amount of diffusion [there is]. Particularly is this so when it is realized that we have placed our faith for diffusion to a very large extent upon the initiative of individual communities and have given but little attention to the problem of how diffusion takes place."[21]

It is a well-known truism in education that as a result of experimentation, of research, and of considered judgment of educational leaders, more knowledge is available about changes that are needed than finds its way into common practice. How to accelerate action in changing the curriculum at the local level in light of tested thought is one of the major problems that confront us today. Corey has pointed out that this is a matter of *learning* as well as *communication*.[22] Recognition that changes in curriculum cannot be brought about by the professional group alone, but depend in part upon the understanding and assent of the parents and the community at large has sharpened the need to bring all those concerned on the local level into educational experimentation as a means of bringing about much-needed improvement in the learning experiences of boys and girls. It seems clearly indicated that more and more educational experimentation at the local level is needed.

---

[20] Harold Rugg, *op. cit.*, p. 629.

[21] Paul R. Mort and Francis G. Cornell, *American Schools in Transition* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941), p. 25.

[22] Stephen M. Corey, "Action Research, Fundamental Research and Educational Policies," *Teachers College Record*, 50:509-514, May 1949.

OVER THE HORIZON

We may now consider what the future seems to hold for the improvement of elementary education through experimentation. *One thing of which we can be certain is that the need for experimenting in education will increase, not lessen.* The recent developments in action research in the public schools give promise of accelerating educational improvement at the grass-roots level. Beginnings that have been made in including more teachers, pupils, and members of the community in planning and carrying out educational studies will be expanded and refined.

The door is open for the continued experimentation in "laboratory" and in private schools. They can and will continue to cut new edges in educational thinking and practice. The challenge before them in the days ahead lies in developing ways in which their experiences are made more widely available and ways in which they can share in experimentation in the public schools. A number of such experimental elementary schools, some connected with institutions of teacher education and others completely independent, are moving into cooperative arrangements with public schools in developing and testing out educational innovations.[23] This trend will increase as we recognize the need for using every resource, both public and private, for promoting educational improvement.

Experimentation in ways of translating the results of significant research in many disciplines pertinent to the lives of boys and girls into practical action will continue. It appears that more educational experimentation and research will become community centered and will direct more of its attention to the study of *all that educates* in the life of a community and to the school's special role in that connection. Efforts to identify more accurately and to measure growth of boys and girls in developing significant values and the so-called "intangibles" will go on. Scientific scrutiny will be directed toward the effect of the articulation of the elementary and secondary schools, or the lack of it, in promoting wholesome significant growth and maturation.

---

[23] See Kenneth Douglas Wann, *Teacher Participation in Action Research Directed Toward Curriculum Change* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1950).

It does seem legitimate to raise at this point the question as to whether conditions and the temper of the fifties are such as to produce circumstances less favorable to educational innovation and experimentation than the twenties and thirties offered. Some of the unwarranted attacks upon the schools in recent years seem to spring in part at least from a lack of sympathy for school experimentation. Certainly an area in which experimentation is sorely needed is in ways of enlarging the public's understanding of the role of education in a democratic society and how it can be improved.

In conclusion, it seems fair to say that nothing looms so clearly on the horizon as the insight that "*Continued experimentation will remain a continuing need.*"[24] Experimental schools and centers in the past half-century, although few in number, have been a strong current in the main stream of elementary education. Boys and girls, generally, are having a better education because of them. However, it is equally clear that curriculum change in the elementary schools, by and large, has not proceeded at the pace that would seem warranted. Certainly it is no time for workers in elementary education to relax.

SUMMARY

There is much in American culture which respects and supports experimentalism. The tradition of open-minded examination doubtless has helped experimental centers and schools in the United States to struggle with and partly to overcome the inhibiting authoritarian educational concepts of earlier centuries.

Although rooted in Europe, our experimental programs in various laboratory schools have made significant contributions in their own right, especially during the last fifty to sixty years. Today there is a great and continuing need for fresh, dynamic investigations of learning, of curriculum design, of human growth, and of human relations. The nature and functions of experimentation need reexamination and further acceleration, since we still know far less than we may one day come to know about education for significant, responsible living.

Much has been learned from experimental centers, for example, regarding children's needs, rights, and achievements. Yet what has been learned often is not widely used. For many tomorrows the durable tradition of unfettered inquiry in American education faces the double task of more fully influencing school practices and simultaneously opening more doors to the realm of wholesome school living and learning not yet explored.

---

[24] William Heard Kilpatrick on "Experimental Education" in *Encyclopedia of Modern Research*, p. 292. (Italics not in original.)

REFERENCES

BAXTER, TOMPSIE, AND YOUNG, BESS M., *Ships and Navigation*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933.

BODE, BOYD H., *Modern Educational Theories*. New York. The Macmillan Company, 1927.

———, *Progressive Education at the Crossroads*. New York: Newson and Company, 1938.

BUTTS, R. FREEMAN, *A Cultural History of Education*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1947.

CHILDS, JOHN L., *Education and Morals*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950.

COMMAGER, HENRY STEELE, "Our Schools Have Kept Us Free," *Life*, October 16, 1950, pp. 46-47.

COREY, STEPHEN M., "Action Research, Fundamental Research and Educational Practices," *Teachers College Record*, 50:509-514, May 1949.

COUNTS, GEORGE S., *Education and American Civilization*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952.

CUNNINGHAM, RUTH, ET AL., *Understanding Group Behavior of Boys and Girls*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951.

DELIMA, AGNES, *The Little Red School House*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943.

DEWEY, JOHN, *Democracy and Education*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916.

ELEMENTARY DIVISION OF LINCOLN SCHOOL OF TEACHERS COLLEGE, *Curriculum Making in an Elementary School*. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1927.

FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL, *The Philosophy and Purposes of the University School* (Bulletin). Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University, 1948.

HART, JOSEPH K., *Education in the Humane Community*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

JERSILD, ARTHUR T., AND TASCH, RUTH J., *Children's Interests*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949.

LANE, HOWARD, *Shall the Children, Too, Be Free?* New York: Freedom Pamphlets, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

LEINING, EDNA BRIDGE, *Millions of Years in a Winter*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1935.

MAYHEW, KATHERINE C., AND EDWARD, ANNA C., *The Dewey School*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936.

MITCHELL, LUCY SPRAGUE, *Our Children and Our Schools*. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1950.

MORT, PAUL R., AND CORNELL, FRANCIS G., *American Schools in Transition*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941.

PRATT, CAROLINE, *I Learn from Children*. New York: Simon and Schuster, Inc., 1948.

RUGG, HAROLD, *Foundations for American Education*. Yonkers: World Book Company, 1947.

TENENBAUM, SAMUEL, *William Heard Kilpatrick: Trail Blazer in Education*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

WANN, KENNETH DOUGLAS, *Teacher Participation in Action Research Directed Toward Curriculum Change*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1950.

THE ALL INDIA COUNCIL
4/19 D.A.G. Extension
Ajmeri Gate,
NEW DELHI
FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION

CHAPTER XII

Some Research Studies in Education and in Related Disciplines Which Suggest Good Elementary-School Practices[1]

THIS chapter will not be a digest of current or past research which has a bearing on education. We do not plan to select important studies and review them for the reader, but rather to take a critical look at research, its strengths and weaknesses, with the hope that the elementary teacher may be helped to select from the tremendous storehouse of studies those which have sound implications for better elementary-school practices.

PRESENT-DAY ATTITUDES TOWARD RESEARCH

As we turn to research findings to see what light they may shed on good elementary practices, we tend to bring with us preconceived ideas about what research is and what it can do. On the one hand there are those who view research with extreme skepticism and refuse to accept any evidence from studies that have been made. "Research can't be trusted," they say; "it can be used to prove anything. One investigator can 'prove' that a child needs a mental age of 6½ years in order to learn to read, and another investigator can 'prove' that mental age isn't sacred after all, that there are other factors that are even more important. Where does that leave us?"

Along with skepticism of research in general goes a special distrust and disparagement of statistical techniques. Any research that leans heavily on statistics, that contains in its written report many tables and graphs, is particularly suspect, as is the use of any statistical procedure beyond the computation of simple percentages. Numbers are not to be trusted, say the critics, for they can be manipulated to serve any end.

---

[1] This chapter was written by Walter J. Moore and Celia B. Stendler of the University of Illinois. The help of Edward Clifford of the University's Bureau of Research and Service, in finding research materials, is acknowledged with the authors' appreciation.

On the other hand, we find those who have a blind faith in research. "This is based upon research," they say, "and so it must be right. Research is scientific; we can accept its findings with confidence. If we want help on problems of elementary education all we have to do is to turn to research. The answers are there; we just need to put them into practice."

Both the faith and the skepticism are, perhaps, reflections of typical American attitudes toward science in recent years. As man began to fathom the mysteries of the universe, as evolutionary doctrine became popularized, as technological improvements increased by leaps and bounds, a belief in the power of science to solve all of the problems of mankind came into being and flourished in the first two decades of the twentieth century.[2] Acceptance of a scientific approach to education, of research as a tool to tell us precisely what we must do in education came into being as a natural outgrowth of faith in science in general. Our belief in the exact nature of educational research was such that findings from any study which had an aura of the scientific about it went unchallenged, and correlations and intercorrelations made a research report exceedingly respectable.

When and why the skepticism began is harder to determine. Perhaps, as some observers note, Americans are "naturally" skeptics; frontier living helped to develop an "I'm from Missouri; you have to show me" attitude which has persisted to some degree and which may have been accentuated as a reaction to the too optimistic trust in science which had been growing through the twenties. And as new research techniques and new statistical tools showed up the deficiencies of older studies, doubts about the validity of research in general grew. We came to know that if a study revealed that 80 per cent of a group of children performed in one fashion on a test and 70 per cent in another fashion these figures might be completely meaningless because of the kind of sample used or the way the test was given, or because of the kind of test that was used. As we become more sophisticated with regard to research, we become critical of studies done on middle-class children only, on too small samples, and on too large samples; or with as faulty design as in the case of the toothpaste experiment where the advertiser brags that the experiment revealed his toothpaste was the best, because it was the *only* toothpaste which was used!

---

[2] Merle E. Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943), pp. 555-556.

Some of the more temperate of our professional group, however, have realized that we must not throw the baby out with the bath water, so to speak; that the truth lies in neither of these positions of extreme faith and extreme skepticism but somewhere in between. While not all, or even most, of the research in education is as bad as the skeptics claim, educational research has suffered from certain weaknesses. At the same time research has exerted a profound influence upon American education; it has helped to suggest better elementary practices than we have had in the past. Both of these statements will be examined in detail.

WEAKNESSES IN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

Stoddard[3] has suggested five different theses with regard to educational research which are indicative of some of the trouble spots:

Thesis I

Much current educational research is prosaic and repetitive; it lacks impact.

Thesis II

Much current educational research is fragmentary and discontinuous.

Thesis III

Even when useful, much educational research avoids basic issues.

Thesis IV

Educational research tends to avoid what is controversial and therefore exciting.

Thesis V

Educational research is frequently divorced from a superstructure in human values, especially as expressed in the fine arts.

These theses with regard to educational research in general may also be examined with special regard to elementary education. As we survey the research in any one area of elementary education, we obtain evidence to substantiate these theses. In the area of reading, for example, over 3500 studies have been published, on problems ranging from the place of reading in the total development of the child to the size of the print in the first preprimer. While some of these studies have been of major importance, much of the research has indeed been "fragmentary and discontinuous." There may be dozens of studies on one minute aspect of reading, with no relationship between the bigness of the idea and the number of studies done on that idea.

---

[3] G. D. Stoddard, "Educational Research Lacks Impact: It Avoids Controversies and Human Values," *The Nation's Schools*, 49:44-46, May, 1952.

NEGLECTED IDEAS. At the same time some of the big ideas in education go begging. Over and over again writers who have surveyed the research literature in elementary education have come up with lists of important problems, solutions to which are badly needed. Although these lists have appeared at intervals of some years apart in the last ten or twelve years, there is no evidence that these problems are yet receiving the attention they deserve. We still do not have an adequate organization of the curriculum, with a carefully worked-out series of concepts which children should be taught; we still do not know the best method of grouping children in the elementary school; we still have not solved the problem of character education; we still do not know how to motivate children of all social classes; we still do not know the most effective methods of teaching some of the basic skills; we still do not know how to build democratic attitudes effectively in the elementary schools. These are major problems in education which call for major programs in research, yet little or nothing is being done on a large-scale basis to work toward their solution.

INADEQUATE CONTROL OF VARIABLES. One difficulty obviously is the very bigness of the problem. When we tackle an area such as grouping of children in the elementary school, we immediately introduce a host of variables and an independent variable that is almost impossible to define operationally. We might agree that we wanted "optimum development of an individual child" but how that is to be identified and measured is yet to be solved. Then we would have to see how "optimum development" is related to such factors as chronological age, mental age, skeletal age, rate of maturation, social development, parental aspirations for the child, sociometric data, the child's feelings about himself, and perhaps many other variables—all of which must somehow be managed and controlled in order to test relationships. Where terms are not precisely defined and where variables are not adequately controlled, we have sloppy research whose predictive value is nil.

FAULTY DESIGN. There are other sins of which the educational research worker has been guilty. In some cases his sample is too small; he makes great claims for a particular method when it has been tried on only a few children, and perhaps only middle-class children at that. Or he compares groups of children and points out that 82 per cent perform one way and 90 per cent another way, without applying a test of significance to see whether this particular 8 per cent difference is one we would expect to find by chance or whether we would find it less than 1 per cent or 5 per cent of the time—or, as the research worker says, at the 1 per cent level or 5 per cent level of confidence. Good design, careful selection of sample, careful statistical procedures—all must enter into the evaluation of educational research.

FAULTY INTERPRETATION. In some cases the difficulty has been not with the research, but with the interpretation some people make of the research. Consider the case of Sandin's[4] study of non-promoted children which showed that such pupils are relatively seldom chosen by regularly promoted pupils as friends, and that they name children in higher grades as their choice of friends more often than do their classmates. This study is frequently interpreted (though not by Sandin) to mean that non-promoted children are socially and emotionally maladjusted.

Consider the implications of this conclusion. In the first place it assumes that adjustment can be measured in terms of the number of people who indicate they choose to associate with a particular person in a specified way. According to this criterion the child who is chosen by six children is better adjusted than the child who is chosen by none. Yet this assumption has never been submitted to adequate empirical tests. We do not know to what extent people in mental hospitals were isolates in their school careers; it may well be that many of them were well-liked members of their community. A sociometric test is more likely to reveal the extent to which the star in a given grade conforms to the ideal of the gregarious outgoing American type; the child who is "different" from this ideal is penalized in such a test. Furthermore, the interpretation of the Sandin research assumes that if a child chooses friends outside his classroom he is maladjusted. Yet the non-promoted children in this study who chose their friends from a higher grade may have been naming pals who had previously been their grade-mates.

We have not discussed all of the theses proposed by Stoddard in relation to elementary education, but perhaps we have done enough to make the reader aware of some of the weaknesses in educational research. We continue with our second statement: that research has exerted a profound influence upon American education and has helped to improve elementary practices. To see the influence of research upon education, in the past as well as in the present, we begin with the "scientific movement" in education.

---

[4] A. A. Sandin, "Social and Emotional Adjustments of Regularly Promoted and Non-promoted Pupils," *Child Development Monographs*, No. 32, 1944.

The Impact of the Scientific Movement

Approximately half a century has passed since the beginning of what commonly has been called the scientific movement in education. Freeman has pointed out that "while it would be futile to set any particular event or date as a beginning of the scientific movement, it is clear that the turn of the century marked a new era."[5] As the century opened, the traditional subject-matter curriculum was firmly entrenched. As in the preceding decades, stress was still laid upon the fundamentals—reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic; more recent entrants to the elementary curriculum included science, history, geography, music, art, and physical education. Shores pointed out that:

> Objectives in all of these were almost entirely in terms of subject matter. Teachers "heard lessons" recited from *the book* and "tested" pupils' ability to reproduce the material previously "assigned" or "given out." Teachers tended to be impartial umpires between pupils and textbook in the recitation process.[6]

However, conceptions of education were beginning to emerge which were at marked variance with such methods and practices. Major contributing influences included:

> . . . (a) the Herbartian influence in American education which developed into the National Society for the Study of Education; (b) a new psychology of education and the related child study movement; (c) the test and measurement movement which developed from the new psychology; (d) the philosophy of John Dewey and his disciples; (e) the

---

[5] Frank N. Freeman, "Introduction: The Purpose of the Yearbook," *The Scientific Movement in Education*, Thirty-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II (Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1938), p. 2.

[6] J. Harlan Shores, *A Critical Review of the Research on Elementary School Curriculum Organization*, 1890-1949, University of Illinois Bulletin, Vol. XLVII, No. 8 (Urbana: Bureau of Research and Service, College of Education, University of Illinois, 1949), p. 5.

> movement to study and define the aim and scope of elementary education in the light of its relationship to other units of the public school system.[7]

Although the Herbartian influence was undoubtedly strong, particularly upon practices in private experimental schools, the policies of William James were widely heralded and, in the opinion of Gates, were more "speedily accepted, not because he was an American, but because something in the American temperament made his pragmatic approach enormously satisfying. . . . He became the inspiration that led men into scientific study as a means of solving problems of education."[8]

James's beliefs were generalized from the developments in biological and social sciences and were at variance with the philosophical, logical and empirical doctrines of Froebel, Pestalozzi, and Herbart. His views on psychology were particularly influential.

> The new dynamic psychology of James established the idea of learning as an active, complex process and the learner, even the very young one, as an organism that learned by reacting—by perceiving, discriminating, judging, achieving insight, weighing alternatives, reaching decisions, acting, and feeling—in the situations in which the occasion arises. One learns to meet a situation by guided experience in meeting it—not by formal, isolated *preparation* for meeting it. Carried forward by investigating and reflecting, this general conception, in the works of Dewey, Kilpatrick, Judd, Thorndike and many others, led to radical changes in educational conceptions and practice.[9]

Application of the scientific method to the study of human nature began to widen the horizons, and it was not long before the influence of the movement was felt in all realms of educational theory and practice. The earliest efforts to reform the elementary-school curriculum took the form of various attempts to individualize instruction. Prior to the advent of interest in individualizing instruction it had been rather taken for granted that any child could learn anything as well as the next if only he would apply himself to the task at hand. Courtis pointed out that "under such a conception of the potentialities of children failure could only mean a lack of effort and industry, both of which were considered to be indicative of lack of moral character."[10] However, the early psychological studies of Hall, Thorndike's experiments in animal learning and in transfer, Judd's investigations in the psychology of elementary-school subjects, and Terman's work in developing and refining the Binet tests all pointed out that:

---

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

[8] Arthur I. Gates, "Contributions of Research to General Methods of Instruction," *The Scientific Movement in Education*, p. 80.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

> The concept of the existence of measurable differences in the capacities of children completely altered the situation. It supplied both point and method to new systems of classification and stimulated the development of differentiation of schools, curricula, and methods adjusted to individual needs. More important still, measurement of mental ages of children and the attempts to adjust to observed differences inevitably led to a detailed study of how children at different age levels behave.[11]

The emphasis upon individualization therefore had important implications, for it directed attention to the need for refinements in testing and in methods of child study. As intelligence tests and various tests of achievement in subject-matter fields were administered, wide differences in individuals were brought to light. Whereas the inclination previously had been to blame the child for his failures to achieve, the deficiencies of teachers and teaching methods now shared the spotlight of popular disfavor. As the testing movement swept on, more and more of these deficiencies became apparent and as Cronbach pointed out:

> Despite the marked benefits conferred by tests, the testing craze eventually produced serious dislocations in the school system. The tests became a taskmaster which everyone in the school found himself trying to serve. When good standing on the final test in June became the goal of the entire year's work, useful classroom activities which would not raise test scores received scant encouragement.[12]

The enthusiasm for testing and the concern for problems of individualization of instruction continued undiminished. Concurrent with these developments had been the attempts at improving the curriculum through various organizational devices. They were piecemeal efforts for they did not try to improve curriculum theory, nor did they even attempt a restructuring. In the classroom these devices enjoyed a wide vogue for it was felt that individual pupils were being given opportunities to work upon practical problems. Thus the objection to the "projects," "units," or "contracts" was that, while they did in a measure provide for individual differences, they nevertheless were all subject centered, for the subject matter to be mastered was kept constant for all, and only the speed of achievement was adjusted to pupils' abilities.

---

[10] S. A. Courtis, "Contributions of Research to the Individualization of Instruction," *The Scientific Movement in Education*, p. 202.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

[12] Lee J. Cronbach, *Essentials of Psychological Testing* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949), p. 273.

Largely as a result of the new psychology, with its emphasis upon individual differences and the influence of the intelligence testing movement, administrators endeavored to classify pupils according to their abilities. Thus in "ability grouping," "homogeneous grouping," and other types the theory was that:

> The brightest pupils could be given extra work in an "enriched" program and not be held back by the slower pupils; the average students did somewhat less than the brightest; and the slowest, or "dull" students could be helped to achieve the minimum essentials. Individualized instruction in this way could be achieved by keeping the promotion rate constant for all, but the curriculum could be adjusted to varying abilities.[13]

Criticisms of classroom and administrative devices were that they but prolonged adherence to the subject-centered curriculum.

It was against this background that the "activity movement" gained favor, for it espoused a type of curriculum which was not conceived in terms of courses to be followed or subject matter to be learned. Rather it was based on a series of activities or experiences encompassing the whole life of the school. Years before, Dewey had pointed out that there could be no separation of the individual from his social situation—his psychological nature and the social environment in which he operated must be interwoven, and only through the proper interaction of the two could democracy exist. Dewey had felt the need for a philosophy appropriate for education in a new age—an education which would take into account the best evidence that could be gleaned from modern natural science, social science, and psychology. He had declared that:

> . . . On the one hand, education must start with the psychological nature of the individual child as the basis for education. . . . On the other hand, teachers must be familiar with the social situation in order to

---

[13] R. Freeman Butts, *A Cultural History of Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1947), pp. 644-645.

interpret properly the child's activities and transfer them into social channels.[14]

Butts was of the opinion that the early works of Dewey (*Interest as Related to Will*, 1896; *My Pedagogic Creed*, 1897; and *The School and Society*, 1899) "heralded the revolt against the dominance of the religiously motivated moral aim, the disciplinary aim, and the informational aim, which had ruled elementary education throughout most of the nineteenth century."[15] Dewey, as early as 1896, had experimented with a new curriculum at the Laboratory School of the University of Chicago. A small number of private experimental schools attached to universities had recognized the promise of the "experience" or "activity" curriculum, but there had been little carry-over into public elementary education. Dewey's *Democracy and Education* had appeared in 1916, at a time when the criticisms of the subject-centered curriculum were reaching a high pitch. In their endeavors to implement the philosophical, psychological, and social aspects of Dewey's works, Kilpatrick and others definitely influenced practices in public elementary education for they likewise believed that:

> The pupil should be viewed as a "whole," and . . . learning is best when activities are purposeful and interesting to the learner. The learner was viewed as active and creative; he should have a part in initiating, planning, carrying out, and evaluating his experiences. "Learning by doing" became the catchword, and great emphasis was put upon freedom for the learner to engage in activities deemed important by him and to criticize intelligently his own learning process.[16]

Criticisms were heaped upon the extremists who moved far from the traditional subject-centered curriculum in the direction of an activity program. In striving to care for the needs of the "whole" child, individualistic methods developed in the so-called "progressive" schools of the 1920's and 1930's brought down charges that the fundamentals had been abandoned, that skills no longer received attention, that discipline was almost wholly lacking, that education had undergone such a watering down as to become almost valueless either to the individual or to society. The high schools of the country which inherited some of the products of the progressive elementary schools lamented the supposed, and in some instances real, lack of preparation, and in turn, the high schools found the doors to higher institutions barred to some of their graduates. Programs organized along subject-matter lines presented (and still present) the most common pattern of curricular organization. The arguments of the proponents and opponents of the subject curriculum and the activity curriculum dominated the scene, and many investigations had as a primary objective the search for evidence to "prove" the superiority of one type of curricular offering over the other.[17]

---

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 522.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 645.

"Newer-type" practices in public elementary schools which leaned more toward "progressive" methods were carefully scrutinized in an endeavor to ascertain if their education was "better" than that afforded children enrolled in "traditional" schools. Wrightstone believed that it was possible to evaluate the relative achievement of experimental and conventional elementary schools in the attainment of such objectives as: understanding and practicing desirable social relationships; discovering and developing individual aptitudes; cultivating powers of critical thinking; appreciating worth-while activities; gaining command of the common integrating knowledge and skills; and building sound physical and mental health. His study in New York City revealed that "the practices in experimental schools are conducive to more comprehensive growth in pupils than the practices in conventional schools."[18] The newer-type practices were predicated upon these beliefs:

> First, the classroom is a form of democratic social life, and the children reconstruct their experiences therein. Second, these experiences grow from the children's social activities, and various parts of the newer-type curriculum are integrated around a central problem suggested by the children's social activities. Third, a pupil's interests are viewed as signs and symptoms of growing powers and abilities. Fourth, interests and powers are developed by activities, and not alone by passive assimilation of knowledge. Fifth, education is the foundation upon which social progress and reform are founded, and consequently, education must concern itself with vital problems in the world of both child and adult.[19]

---

[17] Cf. Chapter VI for a detailed discussion of curriculum trends in elementary schools.

[18] J. Wayne Wrightstone, *Appraisal of Newer Elementary School Practices* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940), p. 220.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

interpret properly the child's activities and transfer them into social channels.[14]

Butts was of the opinion that the early works of Dewey (*Interest as Related to Will*, 1896; *My Pedagogic Creed*, 1897; and *The School and Society*, 1899) "heralded the revolt against the dominance of the religiously motivated moral aim, the disciplinary aim, and the informational aim, which had ruled elementary education throughout most of the nineteenth century."[15] Dewey, as early as 1896, had experimented with a new curriculum at the Laboratory School of the University of Chicago. A small number of private experimental schools attached to universities had recognized the promise of the "experience" or "activity" curriculum, but there had been little carry-over into public elementary education. Dewey's *Democracy and Education* had appeared in 1916, at a time when the criticisms of the subject-centered curriculum were reaching a high pitch. In their endeavors to implement the philosophical, psychological, and social aspects of Dewey's works, Kilpatrick and others definitely influenced practices in public elementary education for they likewise believed that:

> The pupil should be viewed as a "whole," and . . . learning is best when activities are purposeful and interesting to the learner. The learner was viewed as active and creative; he should have a part in initiating, planning, carrying out, and evaluating his experiences. "Learning by doing" became the catchword, and great emphasis was put upon freedom for the learner to engage in activities deemed important by him and to criticize intelligently his own learning process.[16]

Criticisms were heaped upon the extremists who moved far from the traditional subject-centered curriculum in the direction of an activity program. In striving to care for the needs of the "whole" child, individualistic methods developed in the so-called "progressive" schools of the 1920's and 1930's brought down charges that the fundamentals had been abandoned, that skills no longer received attention, that discipline was almost wholly lacking, that education had undergone such a watering down as to become almost valueless either to the individual or to society. The high schools of the country which inherited some of the products of the progressive elementary schools lamented the supposed, and in some instances real, lack of preparation, and in turn, the high schools found the doors to higher institutions barred to some of their graduates. Programs organized along subject-matter lines presented (and still present) the most common pattern of curricular organization. The arguments of the proponents and opponents of the subject curriculum and the activity curriculum dominated the scene, and many investigations had as a primary objective the search for evidence to "prove" the superiority of one type of curricular offering over the other.[17]

---

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 522.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 645.

"Newer-type" practices in public elementary schools which leaned more toward "progressive" methods were carefully scrutinized in an endeavor to ascertain if their education was "better" than that afforded children enrolled in "traditional" schools. Wrightstone believed that it was possible to evaluate the relative achievement of experimental and conventional elementary schools in the attainment of such objectives as: understanding and practicing desirable social relationships; discovering and developing individual aptitudes; cultivating powers of critical thinking; appreciating worth-while activities; gaining command of the common integrating knowledge and skills; and building sound physical and mental health. His study in New York City revealed that "the practices in experimental schools are conducive to more comprehensive growth in pupils than the practices in conventional schools."[18] The newer-type practices were predicated upon these beliefs:

> First, the classroom is a form of democratic social life, and the children reconstruct their experiences therein. Second, these experiences grow from the children's social activities, and various parts of the newer-type curriculum are integrated around a central problem suggested by the children's social activities. Third, a pupil's interests are viewed as signs and symptoms of growing powers and abilities. Fourth, interests and powers are developed by activities, and not alone by passive assimilation of knowledge. Fifth, education is the foundation upon which social progress and reform are founded, and consequently, education must concern itself with vital problems in the world of both child and adult.[19]

---

[17] Cf. Chapter VI for a detailed discussion of curriculum trends in elementary schools.

[18] J. Wayne Wrightstone, *Appraisal of Newer Elementary School Practices* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940), p. 220.

[19] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

As the mid-century approached, it became clear that much of the early research relating to elementary education had been directed at getting to the roots of the problems involved in educating the individual child, usually in a subject-centered, minimum-essentials type of curriculum. Modification of methods of instruction issued from the research as light was cast upon the individual child, and gradually the interests of children and their needs influenced curricular organization along "activity" or "child-centered" lines. A shift of emphasis came later on, for as Butts observed:

> The curriculum began to be shaped by the needs of society as well as by the interests of children. It became clear to many that the needs of children cannot be separated from a conception of a desirable kind of society in which they are to live. It seemed clear that the school experience should be planned not only with reference to good learning activities of individual children but with reference to the social significance of the problems that children face and solve. "Areas of living" in a democratic society became a key concept for the cooperative building of the school program; children should not be allowed to neglect the development of abilities in such areas as home and family life, personal relationships, social and civic responsibilities, economic and occupational life, and health, recreation and leisure activities.[20]

The influence of the scientific movement over the first half-century has been tremendous in its effects upon the elementary-school curriculum. Any attempt at assaying its influence is fraught with difficulties as the movement is still in progress. Changed conceptions of the child as a learner have emerged, but educators continue to be divided in their beliefs and practices in implementing programs designed to better attain the type of elementary education vital to the mid-twentieth-century child.

Acceptance of a scientific approach to education, or research as a tool to tell us precisely what we must do in education, came into being as a natural outgrowth of faith in science in general, as we have already indicated. Since the decade of the twenties was the one which saw wide acceptance of a belief in the power of science to solve all problems, it was natural that educators should share in this belief. However, another movement was in the making and in the 1930's began to exert a tremendous influence upon American education. This was the child development movement, to which we will turn our attention now.

---

[20] R. Freeman Butts, *op. cit.*, p. 646.

IMPACT OF THE CHILD DEVELOPMENT MOVEMENT

The influence of child development research upon education is a more subtle one than that of the scientific movement. Whereas the scientific movement resulted in standardized test programs, ability groupings, and special administrative devices for taking care of individual differences, the implications of child development research were not so easily translatable into educational practice. This fact can be seen as we analyze what different approaches to studying children have contributed to our knowledge of growth and development.

ESTABLISHING NORMS OF DEVELOPMENT. One such approach is the "normative" approach, that is, attempting to shed light on the growth process by finding out what is average or standard for a given sample of children with regard to a particular characteristic. By means of cross-sectional studies[21] we have obtained norms which enable us to predict the age of onset of walking and of talking, how many words a child will know when he enters school, when his second teeth will begin to appear, when he will enter puberty, when he may be expected to engage in parallel play, when he will begin to draw pictures that look like something, when team play will be meaningful to him, how much he should weigh for his age, sex, and body build. Sequences in development have been established in such areas as motor development, language development, physical development, and social development.

The effects of all of this research have been mostly in the direction of changing our expectations for children. It is true that we are not always sure *exactly* what to expect after reading the research, but in general there is the feeling that our expectations ought to be more reasonable. Our demands upon children as a result probably are such that they can be more easily met with success than otherwise.

ESTABLISHING PRINCIPLES OF DEVELOPMENT. In addition to descriptive studies, we have also had a large number of experimental studies which have resulted in the establishment of certain principles of growth and development. Some of these studies have been on the problem of maturation. When a certain behavior such as creeping or walking appears without benefit of training we say that maturation is at work.[22] Again the implications of maturational studies are not quite clear for the schools, since most of the studies have been done with young children and on motor skills. One unfortunate result of the studies has been that the concept of maturation has been confused with that of readiness. Readiness is a different concept. Creeping or walking may appear because of a neural ripening which occurs without benefit of training, but readiness does not spring full-blown into being. Training influences readiness; it does not appear to influence behaviors which are due to maturation. Some first-grade teachers, because maturation and readiness have been confused, have been led to believe that merely by postponing reading until the child is "ready" for it they can be assured of reading success, without realizing that maturation *plus* training is necessary to produce readiness.

---

[21] For a review of the literature, see such texts as L. Carmichael (ed), *Manual of Child Psychology* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949); G. E. Thompson, *Child Psychology: Growth Trends in Psychological Adjustments* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952); A. T. Jersild, *Child Psychology* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947); and F. K. and R. V. Merry, *The First Two Decades of Life* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950).

Other principles of growth and development have been established; the principle of the interrelatedness of development which has given substance to the concept of the "whole child" has had perhaps a more important impact upon elementary education. Studies of accident-prone children[23] have helped us to see that emotions and motor behavior are closely allied; research on level of aspiration[24] has shed light on the relationship between personality and learning; research in psychosomatics[25] on the relationship between certain ailments of children and their emotional health.

The establishment of these principles has in some cases had an easily observable effect upon elementary practice. The concept of maturation has resulted in a postponement of the teaching of skills, particularly reading, although, as we have noted, this postponement may be due to confusion over the term and may not be justified in all cases. Other principles of growth and development have had a more intangible influence; they have contributed to our understanding of the child and thus have probably had a humanizing influence upon elementary-school practice.

---

[22] For review, see L. Carmichael, *op. cit.*

[23] Vita Kroll, "Personality Factors in Accident-Prone and Accident-Free Children" (Doctor's dissertation, University of Rochester, 1951).

[24] K. Lewin, T. Dembo, L. Festinger, and P. S. Sears, "Level of Aspiration," in J. McV. Hunt (ed.), *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1944), Vol. I, pp. 333-378.

[25] F. Dunbar, *Mind and Body: Psychosomatic Medicine* (New York: Random House, 1947).

CONTRIBUTIONS FROM RELATED DISCIPLINES

Research stemming from the scientific movement and the child development movement continues to influence educational practice, though subtly in some cases. From still other disciplines have come concepts that already are exerting an influence upon educational practice in some instances, and in others the what-to-do-about-it is not quite clear. Some of these concepts will be explored now.

SOCIAL CLASS. The concept of American society as a stratified society divided into social classes has had an impact upon the schools. Research on social class has made many teachers keenly aware of their own class position in relation to that of their pupils and has probably helped to make them more aware of and accepting of differences in behavior which have a social-class basis. Research has told us how social class will affect children's choice of friends, out-of-school activities, choice of high-school course, drop-outs, and membership in homogeneous groups.[26] However, it has raised many more problems for which we do not have the solutions.

It appears that our schools have been geared to the middle-class child and that we have been fairly successful in motivating him, but that we do not yet know what carrots to dangle before the noses of lower-class children. We are questioning the emphasis we have placed on middle-class values to the exclusion of others, but what to substitute in their place or to add to them we are not sure. It also seems that many intelligence tests penalize the lower-class child,[27] but whether "culture-fair" tests can be devised which will effectively measure intelligence we do not know. Teachers are probably more sensitive right now to the problem of social class than ever before; research has probably made them more accepting of, and sympathetic to, the lower-class child, but the fundamental educational problems in connection with social class still are unsolved.

---

[26] For some outstanding work in this area see A. Davis and J. Dollard, *Children of Bondage* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1940); A. Davis and R. Havighurst, *Father of the Man* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947); August de Belmont Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth, The Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949); and W. L. Warner, R. J. Havighurst, and M. B. Loeb, *Who Shall Be Educated? The Challenge of Unequal Opportunities* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944).

[27] K. Eells and others, *Intelligence and Cultural Differences: A Study of Cultural Learning and Problem-Solving* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951).

CULTURE AND PERSONALITY. Another important social science concept—this time stemming chiefly from anthropology—is the culture-personality concept. The early research of Sapir, Benedict, Mead, and a host of others[28] on primitive societies effectively disproved the notion that personality traits were inherited. These and later cultural anthropologists showed clearly that members of the same society will have certain basic similarities with regard to personality which set them apart from members of other societies. Furthermore, they develop these basic similarities in personality because they practice the same culture.

From the work of Lewis, Whiting, Kluckhohn, Erikson, Hallowell,[29] and others we have come to see that children learn the culture and thus acquire their personalities. They acquire them in the process of socialization, learning from such socializing agents as parents, teacher, peers, and adults in the community. Both *what* the child learns and *how* he learns it affect his personality. Thus the Balinese child learns that one must not hurry, that time is not important, and a certain attitude toward time becomes part of Balinese personality. The way in which his parents and others act toward him as they teach him also influences personality. Cruel, hostile socializing agents and kind, accepting ones will affect child personality differently.

The culture-personality-socialization concept undoubtedly has had an impact upon the schools, although again the impact is not easy to spell out. The knowledge that personality is not fixed has emphasized the importance of the work of the teacher and made it evident that what she does can leave its mark upon personality. But as the relationship between culture and personality became clearer, thoughtful teachers began to realize that the solutions to major problems of personality adjustment in our culture can come only as the culture itself is changed. Our present system of values, inconsistent and contradictory as it is, does not appear to be conducive to the maximum development of the individual.[30]

---

[28] D. Mandelbaum (ed.), *Selected Writings in Language, Culture and Personality* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948); R. Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934); and M. Mead, *Growing Up in New Guinea* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1930).

[29] Cf. O. Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlan Restudied* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951); J. W. M. Whiting, *Becoming a Kwoma* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941); C. Kluckhohn and H. A. Murray, *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949); E. H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1950); and A. I. Hallowell, "The Child, the Savage, and Human Experience," in D. G. Haring, *Personal Character and Cultural Milieu* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1948), pp. 349-374.

Causes of Behavior. Closely allied to the culture-personality concept is one that stems largely from psychiatrists and psychologists, namely, the concept that behavior is caused. While this statement seems simple and obvious, behind it are years of research on the dynamics of personality. We have a much clearer understanding of a wide range of behavior problems as a result of this research. We know that cheating, lying, stealing, bullying, aggression, bossiness, timidity, tics, tenseness, insecurity, meanness, laziness, and just plain "badness" all develop not as a result of natural perversity on the part of the child but because of certain circumstances in his life history.

Research in this area has added to the teacher's understanding of emotional problems encountered in the classroom.[31] It has also given impetus to "child study" movements, where teachers collect anecdotal records of the behavior of children, analyze these records with the help of specialists to find causes of behavior, and start a course of action, sometimes involving the aid of child guidance clinics, to help the child. This particular method of putting the findings of dynamic psychology into practice has been described in the volume *Helping Teachers Understand Children.*[32]

Group Dynamics. One last area of study in related fields which has had a tremendous impact upon American education is that of group dynamics. Here we must distinguish carefully between the research and popular writings on the subject. From the research have come insights into the dynamics of groups that have influenced our practices with regard to discipline.

---

[30] B. O. Smith, W. O. Stanley, and J. H. Shores, *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development* (Yonkers: World Book Company, 1950).

[31] For reviews of the research and case-study material, see C. Buhler, F. Smitter, and S. Richardson, *Childhood Problems and the Teacher* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), and F. Redl and W. W. Wattenburg, *Mental Hygiene in Teaching* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1951).

[32] Commission on Teacher Education, *Helping Teachers Understand Children* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1945).

Beginning with the classic studies of Lewin, Lippitt, and White,[33] we have had studies of group climate and social interaction which have helped us to see that the general feeling tone which the teacher sets for the group may influence the behavior of children. We know, for example, that group morale will be higher in groups which are run democratically than in groups run on authoritarian or *laissez-faire* bases. We know that children are more likely to continue to work with the group leader out of the room if common goals have been established, whereas work will come to a standstill or horseplay will predominate in autocratic or *laissez-faire* situations where children are dependent upon the teacher to know what to do next.

We know that we cannot expect as much positive behavior from children when they are competing for an individual prize as when they are working together in a situation where everyone gets a prize or no one gets one; that a competitive environment is more conducive to snarling, snatching, unfriendly, negative behavior, as well as poor work spirit on the part of those children who know they can't win, than is a cooperative environment.[34] We know also that competition between groups is not as desirable as we once believed; that while the competition serves to solidify in-group belongingness and solidarity, it does so at the cost of generating and increasing out-group hostility and name-calling, and that children who are low in status in their group will show the most intense manifestations of hostility and rivalry in such competitive group situations.[35]

---

[33] See such studies as R. Lippitt and R. K. White, "The 'Social Climate' of Children's Groups," in R. Barker, J. S. Kounin, and H. F. Wright, *Child Behavior and Development* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1943); R. Lippitt, *An Experimental Study of Democratic and Authoritarian Group Atmospheres*, University of Iowa Studies in Child Welfare, 1940, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 43-195; and K. Lewin, R. Lippitt, and R. K. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created 'Social Climates,'" *Journal of Social Psychology*, 10: 271-299, 1939.

[34] C. Stendler, D. Damrin, and A. C. Haines, "Studies in Cooperation and Competition: I. The Effects of Working for Group and Individual Rewards on the Social Climate of Children's Groups," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 79:173-197, 1951.

[35] M. Sherif, "A Preliminary Experimental Study of Inter-Group Relations," in J. H. Rohrer and M. Sherif (eds.), *Social Psychology at the Crossroads* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951).

And finally we know some things about group contagion—that certain behaviors may sweep like wildfire through a group if certain conditions are met.[36]

Research in group dynamics has also been concerned with role taking and role playing and their therapeutic implications. The concept of role has been clarified by social psychologists. It may be defined as "a pattern or type of social behavior which seems situationally appropriate to [an individual] in terms of the demands and expectations of those in his group."[37] Children take or play many different roles throughout the day; they play the role of son or daughter, of pupil in school, of a peer group member, of boy or girl, of a particular age group, and so on. In addition to these roles which are culturally defined, children also play roles which are related both to the situation and to their individual personalities. Thus in a class discussion a child may play any one of a number of "individual" roles. Following are eight such roles which have been described:

(1) The *aggressor* may work in many ways—deflating the status of others, expressing disapproval of the values, acts or feelings of others, attacking the group or the problem it is working on, joking aggressively, showing envy toward another's contribution by trying to take credit for it, etc.

(2) The *blocker* tends to be negativistic and stubbornly resistant, disagreeing and opposing without or beyond "reason" and attempting to maintain or bring back an issue after the group has rejected or by-passed it.

(3) The *recognition-seeker* works in various ways to call attention to himself, whether through boasting, reporting on personal achievements, acting in unusual ways, struggling to prevent his being placed in an "inferior" position, etc.

(4) The *self-confessor* uses the audience opportunity which the group setting provides to express personal, non-group oriented, "feeling," "insight," "ideology," etc.

(5) The *playboy* makes a display of his lack of involvement in the group's processes. This may take the form of cynicism, nonchalance, horseplay and other more or less studied forms of "out of field" behavior.

---

[36] Fritz Redl, "The Phenomenon of Contagion and 'Shock Effect' in Group Therapy," in K. R. Eissler (ed.), *Searchlights on Delinquency* (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1949).

[37] S. S. Sargent, "Conceptions of Role and Ego in Contemporary Psychology," in J. H. Rohrer and M. Sherif, *op. cit.*, p. 368.

(6) The *dominator* tries to assert authority or superiority in manipulating the group or certain members of the group. This domination may take the form of flattery, of asserting a superior status or right to attention, giving directions authoritatively, interrupting the contributions of others, etc.

(7) The *help-seeker* attempts to call forth "sympathy" response from other group members or from the whole group, whether through expressions of insecurity, personal confusion or depreciation of himself beyond "reason."

(8) The *special interest pleader* speaks for the "small business man," the "grass roots" community, the "housewife," "labor," etc., usually cloaking his own prejudices or biases in the stereotype which best fits his individual need.[38]

Role taking and role playing have been used by those interested in group dynamics for training purposes. A man may be trained to be a better foreman by acting out this role before an audience who will criticize his behavior and who will individually enact the same role. Or children in a classroom situation may be trained for a particular task such as taking a message to the principal, greeting mothers who are coming to visit, thanking a store owner who has shown them his shop by having them enact these roles before the entire group.

Role playing has also been used in the classroom to bring about behavior change in children. Children play out roles in problem situations—being examined by a school doctor, fighting on the playground, taking part in group discussions, and the like—and then have discussion of the role playing. This procedure has the advantage of making a child conscious of his own actions, of making it possible for him to see himself as others see him, and of making him realize the effects of some of his actions upon others. It is a technique, however, that is most effectively used by a teacher with an extensive background in personality dynamics; in the hands of amateurs it may become a dangerous fad.

Whereas the research on group dynamics has been helpful in extending our knowledge of how behavior is affected by the group setting, the term "group dynamics" has also been used to describe techniques for encouraging wider participation in adult discussion groups. These techniques are based upon the principle that involvement on the part of the individual is necessary if he is to be changed. Sometimes methods of involving him border on the ridiculous, as when teachers in a curriculum improvement program were instructed to divide themselves up into groups of six, to "buzz" for six minutes, and to come up with six problems for discussion! We seem to have confused involvement with verbality and to operate on the mistaken notion that one cannot be involved without being verbal. Then we force verbal participation through the "buzz" groups without realizing that one can go through the outward motions of involvement without having any inner involvement occur. More research and less popular writing is needed at this point.

---

[38] *Human Relations in Curriculum Change*, Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program Bulletin No. 7, Circular Series A, No. 51, June, 1949, pp. 95-96.

PRESENT RESEARCH OF PROMISE FOR ELEMENTARY EDUCATION

We have already noted that important problems in elementary education long have been neglected and still are not receiving the attention they deserve. There are, however, some trends, some areas of research with promise for education in which there is at present considerable activity. In this section we will review briefly what some of the areas of emphasis are, or what trends there are that may become increasingly important, in the research literature. These new emphases or trends will be discussed under five major headings: research on content of the elementary curriculum, research on the basic skills, research on social interaction within the classroom, research in psychological ecology, and research on learning theory.

INTERGROUP EDUCATION. Although an over-all attack on the elementary curriculum through a research program has not been made, a new content area growing out of research has been given impetus in the elementary curriculums in many school systems throughout the United States. This is the area of intergroup education. Two significant things have been happening here. One is that we have become increasingly conscious of the fact that even young children are aware of religious and racial differences and that their perceptions of other children are being influenced by their awareness.

In a study made in Philadelphia, Radke, Trager, and Davis[39] found that of the white kindergarten, first-, and second-grade children who were studied, more than two-thirds expressed attitudes of rejection toward the Negro. These young children also expressed attitudes of religious prejudice, though not to so great a degree. In a later study Radke, Sutherland, and Rosenberg[40] reported on the racial attitudes of children in a mixed school, but predominantly Negro. They found in a school populated by 475 Negro children and 48 white children that at all ages (7-13) the white children expressed strong preference for their own social group and that they also expressed unfavorable attitudes toward Negroes by assigning the undesirable behavior characteristics to photographs of Negro children which they were shown in a test situation. Like the white children, the Negro children also show a readiness to assign undesirable characteristics to the Negro. Here we see the beginnings of the negative self-concept of minority group members which will later on affect behavior in adult minority-majority group conflicts. The writers conclude:

---

[39] M. Radke, H. G. Trager, and H. Davis, "Social Perceptions and Attitudes of Children," *Genetic Psychological Monographs*, 40:327-447, 1949.

> The results of this study emphasize the early patterning of social perceptions and reactions to the negro and white races. The implications of this study are clear. They point to the necessity for attacking problems of prejudice with very young children, and for preventive intercultural education programs in the very early years.[41]

Ways of attacking problems of prejudice are becoming more effective as a result of research. For one thing, we know how children acquire such attitudes in the first place. We know that attitudes are determined partly by imitation, partly through group membership, and partly by the personality of the child, with the prejudiced personality being one that must build up good feelings about himself by belittling those who are different.

Promising programs of intergroup education are drawing upon the research on changing attitudes and utilizing many different techniques rather than one.[42] We no longer naïvely believe that we change attitudes by celebrating the holidays of other people, or by reading stories about them, or by learning their dances, or by having a Negro-white baseball game. Rather, the good teacher will plan many different kinds of activities so that pupils who do not respond to one approach may respond to another.

RESEARCH ON THE BASIC SKILLS. In this section we will review briefly some of the major trends in research in both arithmetic and the language arts.

---

[40] M. Radke, J. Sutherland, and P. Rosenberg, "Racial Attitudes of Children," *Sociometry*, 13:154-171, 1950.

[41] *Ibid.*

[42] Robin M. Williams, *The Reduction of Intergroup Tension* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947).

Arithmetic. During the past few years the teaching of arithmetic has commanded the attention of those interested in the place of this subject in the elementary curriculum. Government bulletins such as *How Children Use Arithmetic,*[43] school study council monographs such as *Developing Meaningful Practices in Arithmetic,*[44] yearbooks such as the National Society for the Study of Education's *The Teaching of Arithmetic,*[45] periodical publications such as "Arithmetic in the Modern School,"[46] and the study of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development entitled "What Does Research Say About Arithmetic?"[47] all point up this increased interest in arithmetic in the elementary school. All of these publications concern themselves with the ways that children develop arithmetic abilities, present overviews of some of the problems that the teacher faces, compare methods and approaches, describe specific teaching techniques, and report latest research findings.

Harding has observed that:

> . . . The most persistent questions regarding present methods of teaching arithmetic relate to the comparative effectiveness of emphasis on functional experiences or formal drill; satisfactory methods of teaching problem-solving; whether the democratic inductive, "discovery" or generalization method is as effective as the authoritative deductive "identification" method in teaching number facts; reasons for the arithmetical weaknesses of secondary school pupils; and the nature of out-of-school influences on arithmetic.[48]

---

[43] Effie Bathhurst, *How Children Use Arithmetic*, Office of Education Bulletin, No. 7 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951).

[44] The Committee on Flexibility, *Developing Meaningful Practices in Arithmetic* (Syracuse: Central New York School Study Council, 1952).

[45] National Society for the Study of Education, *Fiftieth Yearbook*, Part II, "The Teaching of Arithmetic" (Chicago: University Chicago Press, 1951).

[46] "Arithmetic in the Modern School," *The National Elementary Principal*, October, 1950.

[47] Vincent J. Glennon and C. W. Hunnicutt, "What Does Research Say About Arithmetic?" Bulletin published by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development of the National Education Association, 1952.

[48] Lowry W. Harding, "How Well Are Schools Now Teaching the Basic Skills?" *Progressive Education*, 29:12-13, October, 1951.

Language Arts. The language arts areas continue to command a wide numerical lead over all other research interests reported in the literature over the past few years. A recent bulletin of the National Conference on Research in English entitled *Areas of Research Interest in the Language Arts*[49] concerns itself with research needs in the language arts areas. A review of the research needs suggests some of the types of research that are going on as well as what is known in the respective areas of reading, speech, listening, language expression. In the Foreword, the chairman, Nila Banton Smith, discusses six strong currents of educational thinking which are shaping research needs at this time. The first is defined as continuity of growth. The second is concerned with developmental sequences in the language arts. A third trend is based on a clear recognition of interrelationships of language growth. The fourth is concerned with group dynamics. The fifth gives recognition to the influence of social change, and the last places emphasis on the need for rich, stimulating, permissive school environments.

The relationship between boy-girl differences in rate of maturation and difficulties in learning to read is receiving some attention in the literature. The argument is that since research tells us boys mature roughly a year later than girls, perhaps school entrance or reading instruction should come later for boys.[50] However, we must be cautious in drawing such conclusions from maturation rates. Overlap between sexes is large and furthermore other factors must be considered. A bright slow-maturing six-year-old boy will probably still learn to read faster than a dull fast-maturing six-year-old girl.

RESEARCH ON SOCIAL INTERACTION IN THE CLASSROOM. Research on classroom instruction has undergone revolutionary changes during the past few years. Earlier emphases were upon methods or techniques of presenting content—the so-called assign-study-recite procedures. The newer concept, while incomplete in many respects, emphasizes the effects of *social interests* upon learning. We have already noted the research in the area of group dynamics, and the effects of different classroom atmospheres upon the social behavior of children. But the kinds of social interaction that occur in the classroom also affect the instructional process.

---

[49] Nila Banton Smith, Chairman, *Areas of Research Interest in the Language Arts*, Research Bulletin of the National Conference on Research in English (Chicago: National Council of Teachers of English, 1952).

[50] F. R. Pauly, "Sex Differences and Legal School Entrance Age," *Journal of Educational Research*, 45:1-10, 1951.

At the Human Dynamics Laboratory at the University of Chicago, a number of studies have been carried on, working toward a new theory of instruction which takes into account group life in the classroom.[51] Thelen[52] has endeavored to set up a conceptual framework for the study of human dynamics, reviewed research in classroom dynamics, discussed interaction research methodology, and suggested techniques for collecting data on interaction. The most recent collection of papers from his laboratory represents research into the nature of relationships between teacher and pupil in the classroom.[53]

Passow and Mackenzie[54] have summarized important findings from the studies in group dynamics that have significance for teaching methods at all levels. These may be stated briefly: (1) The major influence on children in the classroom is interaction with others; (2) progress of pupils as well as what they learn is influenced by their socio-emotional needs; (3) the pattern of relationships in the classroom, or the classroom climate, strongly influences learning; (4) groups within the class can be so organized as to facilitate or block learning; (5) classes require time and help to learn to operate as a group; (6) teachers can use group participation to change pupil behavior and attitudes; and (7) teachers can use the group in teaching problem solving.

These research findings have direct implications for teaching methods. As Passow and Mackenzie have observed:

> If we are to act upon our recognition of the role of group processes in classroom learning, we must add to or reinforce certain attitudes, skills and understandings. Courses and textbooks in teaching have concentrated on such topics as selection of general and specific objectives; effective use of questions and answers; lecture, recitation and discussion methods; classroom management; utilization of teaching aids, and evaluation pro-

---

[51] Herbert A. Thelen, "Engineering Research in Curriculum Building," *Journal of Educational Research*, 41:579, April, 1948.

[52] Herbert A. Thelen, "Educational Dynamics: Theory and Research," *Journal of Social Issues*, 6:2, 1950.

[53] Herbert A. Thelen and others, "Experimental Research Toward a Theory of Instruction," *Journal of Educational Research*, 45:89-105, October, 1951.

[54] A. Harry Passow and Gordon N. Mackenzie, "Research in Group Behavior Shows Need for New Teaching Skills," *The Nation's Schools*, 49:71-73, April, 1952.

cedures. These are vital, but they need the bedrock of human understanding that skill in group processes may provide. As teachers, we need, besides the technics just cited: (1) skill in pupil-teacher planning; (2) skill in the use of sociometric and other technics; (3) skill in the use of projective technics; (4) development of an adequate concept of leadership; (5) growth in democratic attitudes and behavior, and (6) skill in compiling and interpreting anecdotal records about pupil interaction.[55]

PSYCHOLOGICAL ECOLOGY. Another area of interest which is receiving attention in the research literature is that of the ecological environment of children. Wright and Barker working with a research team have selected a small town which they call "Midwest" where they are attempting to study the behavior of children in naturally occurring situations. Day records of children have been made by a team of observers who follow a child from the time he gets up in the morning until he goes to bed at night. Since the child also goes to school, we get a complete picture of his behavior in the classroom setting. And as the writers point out, behavior settings are coercive.

> Every adult who has yelled at a ball game, bowed his head at church, ridden all day on a train, or listened at a concert knows this to be true. So does every child who has sat tight in his assigned seat in a classroom. With frequent and important exceptions, in any behavior setting different persons do like things in similar ways. It has to be recognized, however, that there is no binding dynamical relationship between behavior setting and human action. In any setting anything *can* happen—as a teacher facing a classroom full of children knows well. For, at bottom, what the person does in a behavior setting, the classroom or any other, depends at any one time upon the meanings of its parts to him; it depends upon his own goals and paths or obstacles; upon his own needs and abilities. It depends, in all, upon the forces in quite another zone of influence than the world of behavior settings. This other world is the naturally occurring life space, the relevant context of everyday behavior, which we have called the *psychological habitat* of the person. This world includes conditions in both the person and the environment. The environmental part of it lies between the person and the raw physical and social materials, together with the generally seen things to do, of the behavior setting. The coercive effect of a setting upon behavior, then, is indirect. It stems only from the fact that every setting tends to bring about certain psychological habitats rather than others.[56]

---

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[56] R. G. Barker, H. F. Wright, Phil Schoggen, Jack Nall, "Toward a Psychological Ecology of the Classroom," *Journal of Educational Research*, 45:190, 1951.

Observations of the child's day are divided into episodes and each of these episodes assigned to one of 153 different categories. Thus from the analysis of the day record of Raymond Birch, a seven-year-old boy in Midwest, we are able to get a picture of his behavior both in the classroom habitat and in an adult-free habitat in certain out-of-school situations. We quote a brief digest:

> The data indicate that, in the classroom as compared with the behavior settings free of adults, Raymond's behavior was less intense or energetic, less efficient and creative or constructive, somewhat more cooperative when activities were undertaken with others, but generally less satisfying. They indicate that, in or out of the classroom in Midwest, Raymond rarely aimed to do either less or more than he was able to do; that he tried to be funny or reacted with enjoyment to something funny less often in than out; and that, in the classroom, he was much more restless.
>
> Concerning Raymond's habitat, the data indicate that in the classroom as against the settings free of adults, the world of this boy was less clear, less genial, and smaller in the sense of offering fewer recognized and promising things to do. They indicate that Raymond was moved to do what he did more by social pressure and less by direct interest in the classroom; that, in this setting, he was more often frustrated or in conflict, but preoccupied less with the immediate present. The data indicate finally that, in the classroom, Raymond was warmed less by positive emotional expansiveness—feeling for him on the part of others—and subjected more to social disapproval.[57]

There are enormous technical difficulties in such research, as well as some question as to whether these difficulties can be mastered, but psychological ecology offers considerable promise to teachers in better understanding the social behavior of their pupils. When we can record events in the classroom and identify the conditions under which these events occur, we will be better able to modify conditions so that more constructive behavior will occur.

LEARNING THEORY. One last area of interest in research which is of promise to elementary educators is that of learning theory. Learning is obviously the business of the schools; in the last analysis their chief function is to facilitate learning of a desirable nature. New developments in this area, then, should be of considerable interest to educators.

By learning we mean "the change in performance associated with practice and not explicable on the basis of fatigue, of artifacts of measurement, or of receptor and effector changes."[58] It is a hypothetical construct which is "the product of the past interactions of the individual with his environment, and . . . one of the conditions that determine his performance at any moment."[59] It is the job of the learning theorist to specify the variables that determine whether learning will occur and to formulate the functional interrelations between sets of variables.

---

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 199.

Considerable water has flowed under the learning bridge since Dewey said, "We learn to do by doing." Several different theories of learning have been devised which go beyond Dewey's recognition of the need for practice and also beyond the Thorndikian laws. These rival theories are divided on several issues; we shall oversimplify their differences by dividing them into two major camps: the S-S (sign-significate) or perception theorists, many of whom support the nonreinforcement position, and the S-R theorists, many of whom support the law of reinforcement.[60]

The S-S theorists who support the nonreinforcement position emphasize the importance of those field conditions which have been shown to influence perceptional organization, namely, continuity in time and space, visual continuity, common contrast, embeddedness, exploratory motivation, etc.[61] Learning takes place where there is a reorganization of the perceptional systems into a functional whole, as a result of certain stimuli. Perhaps this theory can best be understood in connection with problem solving. An eight-year-old is faced with the problem of dislodging a ball from the gutter on the roof-edge of his house. He tries various methods without success. Suddenly he spies his mother's clothes pole. In a flash of insight he perceives the relationship between the clothes pole and the ball in the gutter (he reorganizes his perceptual field). What are the factors (or variables) that are responsible for his perceptual reorganization? It is the job of the learning theorist to spell these out.

Those learning theorists in the S-R camp who support reinforcement would point out that learning does not occur under all conditions but only when there is reinforcement or reward. Dollard and Miller offer the following:

---

[58] Hovland, "Human Learning and Rentention," in S. S. Stevens, *Handbook of Experimental Psychology* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1951), p. 613.

[59] K. Spence, "Theoretical Interpretations of Learning," in *ibid.*, pp. 690-691.

[60] Cf. Chapter III for a more detailed discussion of learning theories.

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 633.

> For example, a certain boy never learned much about playing a piano because his mother failed to understand the importance of praise and escape from anxiety as necessary rewards in this situation. She sat at his side during practice. As soon as he finally hit the right note, she would say, "Now, can't you get the fingering correct?" As soon as he got the fingering correct, she would say, "Now, can't you play a little faster?" As soon as he played a little faster, she would say, "But the expression is very poor." Thus no response except that of walking away from the piano at the end of the session was followed by a complete escape from the anxiety-provoking criticism. The boy was never allowed to bask in the relaxing sense of achievement and reduced anxiety that comes with praise or the cessation of criticism. Under these conditions, the one response which was significantly rewarded, to wit, walking away from the piano, became more and more dominant in the situation. The boy failed to learn and, as soon as he was able, escaped practicing altogether.[62]

Other factors besides reinforcement are necessary for learning, however. Dollard and Miller propose four factors that are exceedingly important:

The person must want something (drive).
He must notice something (cue).
He must do something (response).
He must get something (reward or reinforcement).

These four factors are important in all types of learning. Whether it is learning to play the piano or learning to spell or learning to be a group leader or learning to be a show-off, the child must want something, notice something, do something, and get something.

Hundreds of experiments on the learning process have resulted in the formulation of principles governing different aspects of the process. While a good deal of the experimental work in connection with these principles has been done on animals, there have been increasingly frequent attempts to extend experimentation in the field of human learning, and to formulate principles in such areas as motor skills, verbal and complex learning-thinking activities, and personality-learning during childhood. From Dollard and Miller have come the application of such principles as extinction, spontaneous recovery, generalization, discrimination, gradient of reinforcement, anticipatory response, and the like, to the field of human behavior. Mowrer has applied learning theory to such problems as enuresis, language development, and identification, while Sears has done experimental work on the learning of secondary drives.

---

[62] J. Dollard and N. Miller, *Personality and Psychotherapy* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950), pp. 44-45.

There is hope in learning theory that some of the problems that vex teachers are capable of solution. Perhaps in the years to come we may know more definitely how a particular child learns to like to be punished, how he can learn to get over this liking for punishment, how lower-class children can be motivated, and how we can eliminate wrong responses to 9×7. Perhaps the impact of learning theory upon elementary practice in the near future will be most felt in teachers' growing awareness of the fundamentals of learning. As teachers begin to be conscious of drives and to analyze pupil motivations, as they begin to notice the cues that serve as stimuli to children, as they afford opportunities for practice with reward, they may promote more effective learning on the part of pupils. As for the future, Nowlis and Nowlis say:

> Our systematic knowledge about the effects of degree of reinforcement on learning is not yet self-consistent; but on the practical side, experimentalists with children know that type and context of incentive are related to the child's continued interest in the learning task. Countless studies lie ahead in which the behavior of children will be modified through the operation of reinforcement. The probable importance of such laboratory learning experiments in the development of child psychology cannot be foretold, but we are confident that their importance will increase as we learn to be more skillful in eliciting complex behavioral systems.[63]

ACTION RESEARCH

One other "movement" in educational research which should be discussed is the action research movement. This particular movement is not so concerned with such problems as what, how, and when learning takes place, or with social interaction in the classroom, as it is with the problem of *action*, of bringing about changes in human behavior while at the same time contributing to the acquisition of human knowledge. The movement began with social psychologists who were concerned with their role as citizens as well as scientists.[64]

[63] V. Nowlis and H. H. Nowlis, "Child Psychology," in *Annual Review of Psychology* (Stanford, Calif.: Annual Reviews, Inc., 1952), p. 9.

[64] I. Chien, S. W. Cook, and J. Harding, "The Field of Action Research," *American Psychology*, 3:43-50, 1948.

They felt that as citizen-scientists they must be concerned with research problems growing out of community needs. Thus problems of racial tension or of industrial relations, or even food habits of people would be fit problems for action research. In each instance the researcher would be interested not only in understanding the problem situation but in changing it; the central idea in change is that *the people who are to be changed must also be involved in the research process from the very beginning.*

VARIETIES OF ACTION RESEARCH. Four varieties of action research have been described:

A. Diagnostic. It is research which is designed to *lead to* action.
   1. The research agency steps into an already existing problem situation, preferably by invitation. It diagnoses the situation. Then it makes various recommendations with regard to remedial measures. The recommendations are not themselves pretested nor are they the object of special research. They are arrived at by a more or less intuitive process on the basis of accumulated past experiences and the present diagnosis.

B. Participant.
   1. Its central idea is that the people who are to take action must also be involved in the research process from the very beginning.
   2. This variety of action research is in a sense a special kind of *diagnostic* action research. Considered as a research technique, it is a method which can be used for only a limited range of problems. Like diagnostic action research it yields primarily facts about a particular community rather than general principles which can guide action in other communities as well.
   3. Participant action research is, strictly speaking, more a special kind of action technique than a special kind of research.

C. Empirical.
   1. The basic idea behind this variety of research is to do something and keep a record of what is done and what happens. The research process is primarily a matter of record-keeping and accumulating experience in day-to-day work.
   2. Ideally the empirical action researcher works with a succession of similar groups. At the beginning of his work with each one he writes down the methods he is going to use with the group and his hypotheses about what changes will take place in the attitudes and behavior of the group members. He records what he actually does, etc. At the end of his work, he records whether his hypotheses have been verified or refuted and also any new principles which he thinks may be derived from his experience with this particular group.

3. An inherent weakness of this type of action research is that conclusions are drawn either from experience with a single group or from experience with several groups differing in numerous uncontrolled ways. Despite this weakness, generally valid principles may be generated.
4. The same individual is usually responsible both for the conduct of the action and for the conduct of the research. These give rise to problems which can be avoided if the role of the action researcher is limited to that of an observer or consultant, with no direct responsibility for the conduct of the action he is analyzing.

D. Experimental.
   1. This is controlled research on the relative effectiveness of various action techniques.
   2. This type has the great potential value for the advance of scientific knowledge, since it can provide, under favorable circumstances, a definite test of a specific hypothesis.
   3. All action research requires that measurement techniques be constructed and applied with community relations continually in mind. Experimental action research must do this, but in addition, it is necessary that the measurement techniques be capable of registering changes in attitudes and behavior which are often very small. And these techniques must be applied at precisely the right time and under precisely the right conditions if they are to provide a valid test of any hypothesis.

In the field of education various writers have suggested action research chiefly of the "B" type as a technique for bringing about curriculum change. These writers have deplored the fact that the professional researcher takes no responsibility for seeing that results of research are translated into action in educational programs. They point out that we have a tremendous accumulation of research findings which are never put to use in the schools, or at best, influence school practices years after their initial discovery. The professional researcher only assumes responsibility for getting the facts, not for putting them into use. The action researcher, on the other hand, sees his primary responsibility as that of changing educational practice. In order to bring about change, he sees that certain conditions must be met. As noted by Corey these are:

1. The teachers (and others) who are to be changed must participate actively in all phases of the research which will involve a problem of a practical nature.
2. The research design must be flexible; the action researchers must be ready and willing to change their design in the middle of their

> experiment. Conditions will continually be changing in the field and the action researcher will adapt his hypotheses and his methods to these changing conditions.[65]

If these conditions are met, the net result will be action; change will be the natural outgrowth of the experimentation.

Criticisms of Action Research. Critics of action research point out certain dangers in the movement:

1. *The evidence obtained from action research tends to be scanty and unreliable.* It is difficult to know with any degree of confidence with both "B" and "C" types of action research, whether significant changes have occurred, whether the changes are in the desired direction, and to what procedures the changes are due. Indeed, Corey,[66] one of the most active proponents of action research, refers to "our casual and subjective methods of making practical decisions" and points out that these differ from research "in *degree* of precision" and "*degree* of confidence we can have in the actions we take." Unfortunately, in some action research programs the degree of confidence teachers can have in the changes that are brought about approach the zero point precisely because of the lack of precision in research design.

Consider the case of Miss A, a second-grade teacher. She is a member of an action research team interested in better spelling practices in the second grade. The team has hypothesized that children will learn to spell better if they do not have regular spelling periods but rather do a good deal of creative writing and learn to spell as they write. The second-graders are to be given a standardized test at the end of the year and results compared with the second-graders of the previous year, when weekly spelling lists were in order. Miss A, however, notes at the end of a few months that many of the children are making common errors and so she inaugurates daily spelling lessons based upon these words. Miss B, also a second-grade teacher, is not quite sold on "functional" spelling and so two days a week her children are drilled on a standardized spelling list. Miss C and Miss D have still different ways in which they vary the spelling program. At the end of the school year, all their test results are pooled. If there are differences in results over last year's second grades, how are we to account for the differences? Because of the continual changes in design, we do not know what methods were responsible (assuming, of course, that the two populations were comparable) and accordingly the teachers cannot plan spelling programs for the following year with any degree of confidence.

---

[65] Stephen M. Corey, "Action Research, Fundamental Research, and Educational Practice," *Teachers College Record*, 50:509-514, May, 1949.

[66] Stephen M. Corey, "Educational Research and the Solution of Practical Problems," *Educational Leadership*, 9:478, May, 1952.

Research, by its very definition, implies *a careful investigation to find answers to questions in which we can have a high level of confidence.* As Cattell says, "If the words 'research' and 'science' are to have any meaning at all, they must be restricted to matters capable of high degrees of predictive verification." Perhaps the chief difficulty with action research programs is that they have a good deal of action but no research. Programs for curriculum change are important and necessary, but when we confuse these with research, we imply a much greater degree of confidence in our results than is available in action programs. Indeed, it is questionable whether action research as defined by Corey with a "flexible" design can ever produce facts or principles in which we can have a high degree of confidence. Changing a research design in the middle of the research carries with it difficulties akin to changing horses in the middle of a stream.

2. *A second criticism of action research is that the action researcher assumes that we have answers to all or most of the problems on education.* He is sure of the ultimate educational goals and sees the chief difficulty in curriculum improvement programs as achieving known goals. Other students of education are much more cautious; they see problems such as those mentioned in the first part of our chapter as still unsolved and they are reluctant to take action on the basis of dogmatic beliefs rather than actual evidence.

Cattell,[67] in discussing action research in the social-psychological area, points out that it does not keep separate two sets of principles: (a) those concerned with moral values or ultimate social goals and (b) those concerned with actual prediction of how individuals and groups act. Cattell does not object to social scientists' being concerned with moral values, but only insists that the social scientist indicate "what part of his argument derives from objective social science and what part from revealed, dogmatic or personal value systems imported into science."

Cattell's reservations about action research in the social sciences have been shared by many educators who are concerned about the emphasis upon action toward a goal determined on the basis of "arbitrary and unstated assumptions," and about the danger that a group of teachers might be manipulated by the researcher toward the goal he sets. To give an extreme and improbable example, the action researcher might decide that boys should be taught to read later than girls. To get teachers to accept his decision, he involves the teachers in research on the reading ability of boys as compared with girls. He does this because (a) involving them in the research will have the effect of moving them toward the goal he has set, and (b) he is sure they will secure evidence to support his stand.

---

[67] *American Psychologist*, 3:193-198, 1948.

The dangers in such a program are obvious. When one considers the number of tentative solutions to educational problems, some of which have deteriorated to the level of educational fads, one wishes for more research on basic problems and less action.

3. *A third criticism of action research lies in an oversimplification of the problems of perception and motivation.* The action researcher assumes that activity means involvement and that involvement inevitably leads to insight. Again, as with group process, there seems to be a confusion of physical activity and verbosity with emotional involvement, despite the fact that it is possible, as we know, for people to go through certain routines without the occurrence of involvement. Teachers in one action research program went through the motions of collecting data on prejudice among school children, the purpose of which was to make teachers more open-minded. But some of the teachers accepted at face value certain prejudiced anecdotes reported by students and actually wound up more prejudiced than when they began the "research." "Busywork" in collecting information does not necessarily lead to insight. Even where the teachers' perceptions are changed, one cannot be sure what factors led to the changed insight and why insight occurred with some teachers and not with others.

Critics of action research on this level avoid the position that research should not lead to action, but rather would urge that the same high scientific standards apply to all research problems. We also take the position that some of what passes as action "research" today is not actually research but rather a procedure for changing teachers' behavior in the direction the action "researcher" has already determined.

Not all action research programs are guilty of the above faults. In the Jersild-Tasch study, *Children's Interests and What They*

Suggest for Education,[68] for instance, care is taken to distinguish between research data and the philosophical goals on which the study was based. Again, in the Cunningham study, *Understanding Group Behavior of Boys and Girls,*[69] the writers point out that this was an exploratory study resulting in hypotheses which must be subjected to precise study and they do not make claims for proofs which are nonexistent.

Summary

Educational research exists for the purpose of improving practice. Despite certain weaknesses, the results of research have modified educational procedures and programs. To gauge the influence of research upon elementary education we have considered the impact of the scientific movement in education and have pointed out that any attempt at assaying its influence is fraught with difficulties as the movement is still in progress.

Another movement, still in progress and perhaps more subtle in its applications in elementary-school practices, has been the child development movement. From many disciplines have come concepts that have had widespread implications for good practice. Another emerging movement which appears to have potentialities for improvement of practice is the group dynamics movement.

Research on the content of the elementary curriculum, the basic skills, social interaction in the classroom, psychological ecology, and learning theory has been briefly highlighted, while considerable attention has been devoted to the so-called "action" research movement.

References

Barker, R., Kounin, J. S., and Wright, H. F., *Child Behavior and Development*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1943.

Buhler, C., Smitter, F., and Richardson, B., *Childhood Problems and the Teacher*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952.

Butts, R. Freeman, *A Cultural History of Education*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1947.

---

[68] Arthur T. Jersild and Ruth J. Tasch, *Children's Interests and What They Suggest for Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949).

[69] Ruth Cunningham *et al.*, *Understanding Group Behavior of Boys and Girls* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951).

Carmichael, Leonard (ed.), *Manual of Child Psychology*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949.

Child Development and the Curriculum, Thirty-Eighth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part I. Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1939.

Commission on Teacher Education, *Helping Teachers Understand Children*. Washington: American Council on Education, 1945.

Cunningham, Ruth, et al., *Understanding Group Behavior of Boys and Girls*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1951.

Eells, Kenneth, and others, *Intelligence and Cultural Differences: A Study of Cultural Learning and Problem Solving*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951.

Human Relations in Curriculum Change. Illinois Secondary School Curriculum Program Bulletin No. 7, Circular Series A, No. 51, June, 1949.

Jersild, Arthur T., and Tasch, Ruth J., *Children's Interests and What They Suggest for Education*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949.

Kluckhohn, Clyde, and Murray, H. A., *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1949.

The Scientific Movement in Education, Thirty-Seventh Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II. Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1938.

Shores, J. Harlan, *A Critical Review of the Research on Elementary School Curriculum Organization, 1880-1949*. University of Illinois Bulletin, Vol. XLVII, No. 8. Urbana: Bureau of Research and Service, College of Education, University of Illinois, 1949.

Smith, B. O., Stanley, W. O., and Shores, J. H., *Fundamentals of Curriculum Development*. Yonkers: World Book Company, 1950.

Stevens, S. S., *Handbook of Experimental Psychology*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1951.

Thompson, G. E., *Child Psychology: Growth Trends in Psychological Adjustments*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952.

CHAPTER XIII

Subject-Matter Interpretations[1]

THERE is wide divergence, even today, regarding the meaning and the function of subject matter in the elementary school. While some educators and parents have advanced in their thinking beyond the early purpose of elementary education, which was to develop skill in the ability to read in order to read the Bible, there are many today who would only change the goal for developing ability to read. These people consider the subject matter of the elementary school as skills in reading, writing, and ability to cipher, often referred to as "the three R's." They little realize that the term "the three R's" came into being when people were so illiterate in this country that they assumed that reading, writing, and arithmetic all began with the letter *R*!

When one hears the criticism today that the elementary school is not teaching "the fundamentals," by which the critics mean "the three R's," it is a sad commentary that there are so many who would be content if the elementary school showed no progress whatever but remained at the static and dead level of mediocrity expressed through the ignorance of an earlier day.

CHANGING CONCEPTS OF THE FUNCTION OF SUBJECT MATTER

SCHOOLS AS INSTRUMENTS FOR INCULCATION. During the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries the purpose of the school was definitely that of inculcation. The schools were thought of as instruments for guaranteeing a way of life that adults believed to be desirable for their children. From ability to read the Bible the goal changed to the ability to read other prescribed materials. These materials, selected by the adults, were designed to establish in the minds of the children various concepts of morals, ethics, and specific behaviors thought to be "good." These statements often appeared as mottoes placed over the blackboards where all could see, read, and follow the dictates; as sentences in copybooks to establish handwriting habits and also to teach morals; and as passages in the school reader, where the ideas expressed in prose and poetry admonished the children to be honest, good, true, and righteous.

---

[1] This chapter was written by Ruth Streitz, The Ohio State University.

Painter, writing in 1886 on the future of education, said:

> As a result of all this interest and activity we may confidently expect that in the course of time—it may be a long way off—there will come forth, through the law of development and the inherent power of truth, a system of education that will have no part of man's nature neglected, but with supreme and unfailing effort will train the young to be strong, intelligent, and above all righteous men and women.[2]

Many parents and teachers continue to believe that the function of the school is to teach these qualities and virtues by means of threats, admonitions, and punishments.

THE ERA OF OVERREFINEMENT. A change from teaching by inculcation to teaching by emphasis upon minutiae occurred near the turn of the century. This was due to the establishment of a relatively new field of learning, namely, that of psychology, applied to education, or educational psychology as it is now called. From 1890 to 1920 this fertile field of research contributed data on human and animal learning, transfer of training, individual differences, mental fatigue, ability to memorize, improvement in reading and arithmetic, and a host of other topics that could be separated from the real matrix of learning and subjected to microscopic examination.

With this scientific background to give security in 1900 to an insecure new field such as education, it is not surprising that teaching rested upon the findings of these isolated pieces of research and that ridiculous adaptations of animal learning to human learning were often attempted.

In the early years of the 1920's the testing and measuring movement gave added impetus to the teaching of minutiae. This movement continues today to have hearty approval by laymen and many members of the teaching profession because subject-matter facts can be ascertained and comparisons made among children, a situation which pleases certain members of an already highly competitive society. Then, too, these subject-matter facts can be treated statistically, an outcome which brings education to a place of high "respectability" in the minds of many.

It is not surprising, then, that subject matter a generation and more ago became itemized; that isolated and often insignificant facts were emphasized; that the method of learning was that of memorization and drill; and that the teaching was mechanical and dull. Subject matter was indeed reduced to the ridiculous. Analyzing various items in grammar; teaching "the one hundred addition facts in arithmetic"; stressing names and places in geography; calling attention to the importance of dates in history, word-calling in the name of reading—all became the method of teaching and in fact became the subject matter of the elementary school.

---

[2] F. V. N. Painter, *A History of Education* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1886, reprinted in 1912), p. 396.

LEARNING VERSUS ABSORPTION. To understand the emergence of the modern elementary school it is necessary to view both method and subject matter as in the process of transition; as moving forward in order that children everywhere may have richer learning experiences than was hitherto thought possible. But the pace is slow—too slow—when one takes into account the numerous available researches which establish the bases for the newer procedures and practices in the good elementary school.

Misunderstanding due to the interchangeable use of the words "method" and "subject matter," without a clear understanding of the purpose and the function of each, has delayed the establishment of improved elementary-school programs. Also, the interrelatedness of the two terms has not been fully understood.

Another cause for the lag between sound theory and actual practice in the elementary school is the acceptance of a certain psychological "school of thought" which is not regarded as adequate by the proponents of modern education today. This is the mechanistic psychology generally known as the stimulus-response, connectionist, or S→R bond theory which Bode attacks so aptly when he says, "A reflex has no relation to purpose; it is regarded as purely mechanical in character, like the action of a shot gun or of a creeping ivy."[3] According to the mechanistic belief, learning is supposed to take place by a "stamping in and a stamping out process" made possible by the establishment of neural connections in the brain.[4] Acceptance of this view has contributed to a static form of subject matter and to a sterile method of teaching in many classrooms.

An "accepted" body of subject matter then became the accepted material for each grade in the elementary school. Even certain words were thought to belong in certain grades and not in others. Not too long ago on a bright fall day a mechanistically minded teacher visited a room where the children were dictating to their teacher the experiences gained on a recent trip to the airport. One sentence read, "We walked under the wings of the airplane." The visitor made her way to the front of the room and calling the teacher by name said, "Miss Brown, *under* doesn't come until March."

---

[3] Boyd H. Bode, *How We Learn* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1940), p. 176.

[4] Cf. Chapter II for a more detailed presentation of this concept of learning.

There are many like-minded school people even today who think that textbooks, songs, and even experiences "belong" in certain grades and not in others.

In contrast with this outworn point of view one finds renewed hope in the fact that the newer psychology of the present is taking hold; that the concept of *learning* is superseding that of mere *absorption*. Here one finds ample evidence from the field of biology and organismic psychology "to establish the belief that the individual grows not in response to external stimuli but through an inner dynamic and according to his own pre-determined pattern. This . . . is called the growth potential."[5] Coghill states, "Nerve cells, like seeds planted by a gardener, spring up and grow according to a definite pattern."[6] Since the individual is now regarded as an energy system, seeking release of tensions, possessed of purposes and drives in the seeking of goals, it is necessary to rethink the purpose and plan of education. Wheeler and Perkins say that ". . . the function of environment is to raise the growth potential, not merely to permit its expression."[7] This interpretation requires a new concept of the place and function of subject matter in the life of the child and a concomitant reorganization of the elementary school.

Some Implications of Newer Concepts of Subject Matter

The Place of Purpose. New interpretations of the meaning of purpose mark a turning point in education, particularly on the elementary-school level. Now the learner begins to identify himself with the processes involved in his own learning. Subject matter becomes something immediate and vital; it no longer resides in the past, selected by adults who have already forgotten their own childhood. The learner's own purposes are now considered important, and finding the necessary subject matter to satisfy purposes becomes an exciting experience. Thus, subject matter takes on new significance.

---

[5] Orville G. Brim, "The Foundations of Progressive Education," *Contributions to Education No. 1*, Ohio State University, July, 1935, p. 14. Quoting from G. E. Coghill, *Anatomy and the Problem of Behavior*. Lectures delivered at the University College, London, 1929 (Cambridge: University Press, 1929).

[6] G. E. Coghill, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[7] Raymond H. Wheeler and Francis T. Perkins, *Principles of Mental Development* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1932), p. 165.

Understanding that the active, dynamic child is filled with impulses, realizing that purposes always start with impulses, and accepting the idea that subject matter or the material for learning is found within experience, the work of the teacher then becomes one of helping children "to select those things within the range of existing experience that have promise and potentiality of presenting new problems which by stimulating new ways of observation and judgment will expand the area of further experience."[8]

It is now generally recognized that children do have purposes and plans, that they are creative and industrious, that they are capable of insights and understanding heretofore thought "beyond their years," and that they must be granted the measure of freedom their level of maturity permits them to accept in order to carry on the work of their own educations.

How different from the days of dictation by the teacher of things to be done by the children is the present, where children participate actively in their own learnings! Children's purposes are expressed in a variety of ways, from the simple statement of the five-year-old, "I am going to paint a picture," to the more mature statement of the eleven-year-old in helping phrase the title for a broad unit in the sixth grade such as "How We Can Understand Other Nationalities as an Aid to World Friendship." Purpose not only points to the goal to be achieved but also selects the activities in which one engages in order to attain the goal. Hence purpose is basic to learning and contributes a sense of discovery, a joy in finding out, a vitality in the very things to be learned, and a personal and social triumph when these things are achieved.

One of the main purposes of the elementary school has often been stated as "training children to think" or "helping children to think" and both of these statements imply the *teacher's* purpose—not the *children's* purposes. Dewey says:

---

[8] John Dewey, *Experience and Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938), p. 90.

> . . . No thought, no idea, can possibly be conveyed as an idea from one person to another. When it is told, it is, to the one to whom it is told, another given fact, not an idea. The communication may stimulate the other person to realize the question for himself and to think out a like idea, or it may smother his intellectual interest and suppress his dawning effort at thought. But what he *directly* gets cannot be an idea. Only by wrestling with the conditions of the problem at first hand, seeking and finding his own way out, does he *think*.[9]

How much more interesting it is for children "to find out" rather than to be told "what to do" or "what to think"!

CHILDREN'S PURPOSES AND THE TEACHER. One has only to visit an elementary school where a modern program of education is accepted to notice the difference in purpose on the part of the children as they go about their learnings in comparison with the formal school where sitting and listening is the accepted procedure. In the first the children are eager and alert; in the second they are often passive and apathetic. The difference is due to the fact that children's purposes function in the former and teachers' purposes function in the latter type of school. The psychological effect, both upon the children and upon the teacher, is profound. Children respond to situations and to what is expected of them, and teachers also grow in terms of accepted school procedures. Where there is freedom to grow, all benefit.

Since children in the modern elementary school are free to carry out their purposes under guidance this implies that the goals must be conceived as *social*—that is, in terms of the common good, the good of the whole class. The teacher must be regarded as an active participant, sharing in class planning and other activities and contributing to the group in materials and comments. This conception does not mean that the children are to serve as a sounding board for the teacher's ideas or that they must acquiesce to her suggestions. It does mean, however, that the teacher's ideas and suggestions will be evaluated in terms of the criteria set up by the class for evaluating their own ideas and suggestions. Then selection is made in terms of class purposes, which are a synthesis of individual and group purposes.

Often children's purposes are confusing to the adult. An example may help to clarify the matter. Some years ago the children of a fourth grade had written a play for the spring festival. The time came to select "the fairy queen," who was to be a most important character. The children finally selected a little girl who by all adult standards would have been the last person in the room to have this position. When asked why the class without exception had selected Evelyn they said, "She is the only girl in the class with long hair and a fairy queen *has* to have long hair." Needless to say, the child was overjoyed at this honor and, as is so often the case where children's purposes are considered, rose to the occasion with abilities hitherto unsuspected by the adults.

---

[9] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923), p. 188.

The Proper Use of Subject Matter in the Elementary School

Many writers have been concerned with the proper use of subject matter, each at the dictates of certain psychological and philosophical principles which he accepted. Dewey has considered this question and has come forth with the following simple yet profound statement: "The subject matter of education consists primarily of the meanings which supply content to existing social life."[10] First, then, subject matter consists of experiences which give meanings; second, meanings then require words if one is to share and participate in social life; and third, experiences, meanings, and words then give rise to ideas—and more ideas.

Subject Matter and Experience. Naturally the question comes to mind "What experiences give meanings?" and here is involved the whole process of selection and organization, for obviously some experiences are more educative than others. A first principle of selection may be stated thus: The subject matter must come within the experience range of the child. For the young child in the primary grades the subject matter or areas of learning will consist of only those experiences with which the child can have direct sensory contacts. The world of the "here and now" then becomes his laboratory, his workroom, and his classroom with implications for further learnings as the child grows and develops.

Obviously this type of learning cannot go on in a classroom where the subject matter is selected in advance either by the school officials or by the teacher and consists of ten-, fifteen-, and twenty-minute periods where the work takes on the aspect of the "stint" of early New England days. Unfortunately too many schools, while stating that they want a modern program of education, will prevent the realization of this wish by requiring that the organization of subject matter be *logical* rather than *psychological*—that is, stress is placed on the logical organization of subject matter, which is the adult way of looking back upon life, rather than upon the psychological organization of subject matter, which is the child's way of looking at life *now*.

---

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 226.

The adult way lends itself to neatness and to order, for as one looks back upon life, strangely enough the pieces of learning seem to fit together into some kind of connected whole. This fact has encouraged the adults, and particularly the writers of schoolbooks, to assume that the logical organization of subject matter is the best organization. And it is—but only for the adults! And at times logical organization breaks down even for them.

To illustrate the fallacy of logical organization of content for children: Some years ago a widely adopted text in geography began the whole study of this wonderful subject in the elementary school by introducing material on Mesopotamia. When one of the authors was questioned about this the reply was that since life in Mesopotamia is simple, children will be better able to understand it before they learn about more complex civilizations later on in their study of geography.

The truth is that children found this study exceedingly complex because they could not imagine people living under such conditions—eating out of a single pot and cooking over a small fire in a hole in the ground. To these modern children the telephone, the radio, and now TV are actually the "simple" things because they are within their own experience range.

Interestingly enough, for a period of twelve years the writer asked thousands of teachers in service how many had ever gone to Mesopotamia and when the answers were negative tried to put some enthusiasm into the question, "How many of you expect to visit Mesopotamia *this* summer?" The answer was always the same. Not one intended to go. Yet without suitable personal experiences these teachers were trying to teach children by following the facts discovered by others—facts logically organized but psychologically unsound for the young learner.

HOW CHILDREN LEARN. The elementary schools exist for the children and not for the adults. And how do children learn and what is their way of organizing subject matter? Children approach the problems of their learning psychologically. They plunge right

Our Thoughts and Our Ideas," "The News Goes to Press," and "News in the Sky."

A third criterion for the selection of subject matter, in addition to direct experience and social utility, is that the learning experiences must be selected in terms of the development and maturity of the child. The child in the intermediate grades is ready to expand his horizons through reading and through other learning activities to include the vicarious experiences of the world beyond him. Now broad units take on a more adult tone and include a greater variety of learnings than was possible on the earlier levels.

One fourth grade, for example, selected "Let's Explore Ohio." The second unit which grew out of the exploration of Ohio dealt with "Our Modern Friends Acquaint Us with Strangers" and then "Wheels Take Wings." A fifth grade selected "What the United States Does for the World," and out of this grew "From Moccasins to Air Travel" and then "What the Seven Seas Do for Us." A sixth grade selected "How People from the Earliest Times to the Present Have Helped Us," then "How and Why from Wood to Steel" became the unit, and the next six weeks were devoted to "How and When Styles Changed Through the Ages." When subject matter is thus selected there is a timeliness to it that one does not find in the usually accepted texts.

Adult responsibility in the cooperative selection and use of subject matter implies enrichment and expansion of boys' and girls' experiences. Too often children are not led into widening areas of subject matter but remain upon a rather low level of mediocrity of interest and effort simply because the adults with whom they are associated lack the knowledge and the vision to guide them in exploring new areas and venturing into new fields.

INITIATING GOOD LEARNING EXPERIENCES. Interest in subject matter, the experiences of learning, begin in a great variety of ways. Children do not respond to stimuli in exactly the same way. They respond instead in individual ways. Such response requires that the initiation and guidance of experiences of learning be both varied and flexible.

Sometimes it is the reading of a story that launches the planning of a particular study, or it may be looking at a picture or the experiencing of an incident that fires the children with such enthusiasm for learning more about the topic that the group makes its decision forthwith to continue the study and to follow it to an acceptable conclusion. Often this decision has both group and individual value, as will be noticed in the following illustration.

The children in a good residential community noticed one fall that their schoolroom was filled with a great many flies. They asked such questions as "Why are there so many flies?" and "Why do people in neighborhoods such as ours have so many flies?" The teacher helped the children to think through the scientific background of these questions. Subsequently the children inspected the alleys and the garbage cans and made some recommendations to the people involved.

The social implications of the study were apparent to all, and it was generally agreed that this had been a most worth-while learning experience. But of equal importance was the fact that one eleven-year-old in the group became so absorbed in the subject of "germs" that quite on his own he carried this idea forward to such an extent that he became amazingly well informed in the field. It is also of interest to note that from the group experience this one child found his life interest vocationally and knew even as a fifth-grade child that he would enter the medical profession.

There are many ways of getting children interested in subject matter. One of the most valuable is the field trip or the study trip in which children go places and see things to talk about. Another is to have a great variety of stimulating books in the room. Such books as Anne Axtell Morris' *Digging in the Southwest* and *Digging in Yucatan* are fascinating to children in the middle grades of the elementary school where new knowledge is made available to them on such old topics as geology and anthropology. And of course the place of personal experience has no equal in developing group and individual interests.

SUBJECT MATTER IN TRANSITION

THE SLOWNESS OF CURRICULUM CHANGE. From the earlier concept of subject matter as an accepted body of material-to-be-taught to the present time, when subject matter is conceived as a means rather than as an end, various minor changes have taken place. These changes, however, have been in large measure mere scratches upon the educational surface of the school program. They have not been fundamental in the reorganization of the curriculum and they have not contributed to a greater understanding of the child and his nature and needs. They have for the most part consisted of the educational juggling of the material already available.

The juggling of material often meant the reassignment of certain blocks of materials to grades other than the ones formerly accepted, the mere grading upward or downward of the same old content, or giving a place of greater importance to content in terms of small pieces of research dealing with certain subjects. For example, an examination of family and business correspondence resulted in a revised spelling list, and an investigation of the arithmetic adults actually use in their social and business affairs resulted in some changes in the content of arithmetic texts. These changes were relatively insignificant save as slightly more practical or more useful materials began to appear in textbooks than formerly was the case. Here again, the change in the elementary-school program has been slow beyond words to express the fact.

TEXTBOOKS AND THE CURRICULUM. There is no question but that school people everywhere owe a debt to both writers and publishers of books. These two groups have brought forth lovely, interesting materials geared to the interests and the abilities of the pupils. It is the abuse of these materials that causes the harm—not the materials themselves. As long as school officials think of books as texts, or more specifically as *the* textbook, there will continue to be people who once they are free of the school's demands read practically nothing—not even a daily paper. Why this lack of interest in one of the chief means of enjoyment in life? One reason is that the material was presented before the child was "ready" to absorb it, and another reason is that the material was so poorly taught as to appear to the child like something from another world and totally beyond his understanding and use. Avoidance seemed better than acceptance. To accept meant that more of the same material but of greater difficulty would be required. Was it not easier to develop inabilities to read and thus not be required to measure up to the next book in the series for that grade?

The assumption that reading takes place only with the use of a school reader or textbook has often prevented the use of more interesting materials in the classroom. Many schools with the best of intentions buy whole sets of readers and place from thirty to forty of them in each room of the school. However, the modern elementary school buys five or six books from each publisher, thus insuring a variety of reading material adjusted to the abilities of the pupils. Where this is done interest in reading runs high and the material has social value in the sharing of what has been read.

Reliance upon textbooks has not been confined to the field of reading alone. Many schools have a textbook for every subject in the curriculum and so one finds a textbook in spelling, in arithmetic, in geography, in history, in science, and in health. If there are any special areas these have textbooks, too, such as in safety education and in home economics. Teaching based upon the textbook then becomes a question-and-answer proposition but without the rules of fair play, as the teacher keeps her book open while instructing the children to keep theirs closed!

Covering the material of the textbook is often the requirement for each grade. Tests based upon the material in the textbook are constructed and children are graded accordingly. The teacher of the older school knows exactly the placement of each child in each grade in terms of the difficulty of the material contained in each textbook.

Another stereotype appeared in the elementary school, the workbook which accompanied each textbook but often had no bearing upon the content of the particular subject matter. The workbook became a device for keeping children in one part of the room quiet while those in another part of the room recited to the teacher what they could remember from the particular textbook.

Reliance upon textbooks, acceptance of tests, and dependence upon workbooks all contributed to the formalism of the elementary school. Learning was based chiefly upon ability to memorize and teaching was didactic, prescriptive, and unimaginative. Needless to say, materials imposed upon teachers and children tend to increase the monotony of the school, to place a premium upon memorization, and to emphasize the covering of material rather than to stress the significance of experiences and meanings in the life of the child.

EFFECTIVE USE OF BOOKS. The school of today has books, books, and more books available to the children. Books on every conceivable topic and suited to the growth level of each pupil are now considered a necessary part of the elementary-school program. Some schools have a trained librarian in charge of the elementary-school library. Other schools have good working relations with a near-by public library. And all good schools have room libraries for each grade so that children can examine and read a great many different materials either in connection with the work of their grade or for sheer pleasure and enjoyment.

Supplementary reading, however, is more than merely adding to the quantity of work to be done in a certain grade. Books today are lovely things. They are well constructed and beautifully written and illustrated. Children go to the book table or book corner eagerly and there find something of interest and value to them. These materials are not for enjoyment alone, although many are included just for this purpose. They are definitely selected in order to further the work of the broad unit and to serve both individual and group purposes.

Perhaps a child needs help in reading in that he is not quite able to work at a particular grade level. This child can go to the book corner and find material suited to his level of learning without feelings of embarrassment which often accompany the child who is not "up to grade," and his contribution to group thinking is considered just as worthy as that of his more advanced classmate. Hence the need for a great variety of materials in order to help each child grow and develop at his own pace.

CHANGING TIMES, CHANGING METHODS. Granting the need for a great variety of materials in the elementary school, there was need also for a method of teaching which would make use of these materials in ways that are most helpful to the child. Some thirty years ago such a new method of approaching subject matter came into being and became known as the project method. The project method made use of subject matter in terms of the interests and the abilities of the learner. While the project method had its inception in the field of agriculture, it later became a method of teaching and learning which did much to revitalize the work of the elementary school.

NATURE OF THE PROJECT METHOD. Changing from the unreal and artificial learning of the formal or traditional school to one in which children's purposes, plans, interests, and activities contribute to thinking was indeed a departure to be feared by some and welcomed by others. Whatever the adult reaction to the project method, with all of its various interpretations, one thing is certain: the children who participated in this type of learning began to see the relatedness of their school experiences to their out-of-school experiences and thus their school work became more concrete and meaningful for them.

Examination of the literature reveals that many well-known educators have attempted to define and to explain the project method. A major portion of the credit for expounding and advocating this method must, however, be given to Professor William H. Kilpatrick of Teachers College, Columbia University, for his zeal in trying to help the teachers of America to understand it and then to put it into practice. His vision and conviction in time affected the entire field of curriculum construction. Kilpatrick defines the project method "as an instance of purposeful activity—it is the pursuit of a purpose."[13]

Professor Boyd H. Bode of the Ohio State University, while supporting some of the tenets set forth by Kilpatrick regarding the value of the project method, believes that "the whole idea of the project method easily becomes a means of evading instead of facing the problem of educational guidance or direction."[14] It is this "educational guidance or direction" which later became the accepted procedure in the development of the broad-unit approach to learning in the modern elementary school.

In summary of the purpose of the project method Bode says:

> . . . The purpose of the project method is to prevent the work of the school from becoming perfunctory, mechanical, and meaningless. The things learned in school must operate to change the pupil's everyday experience, his scale of values, his outlook on life; they must furnish incentives for the process of reinterpretation which we call thinking. The question is simply how this result can be secured most effectively. The movement known as the project method has served a useful purpose in stressing the importance of independent and meaningful activity.[15]

The project method, learning by doing, and activity leading to further activity became expressions to be used in describing changing interpretations of, and approaches to, subject matter in the late 1920's and early 1930's. Many teachers profited from this new freedom to make learnings more meaningful for children and so brought into their lives rich experiences on a wide range of topics. However, in the hands of inexperienced teachers or those unable to grasp the real significance of more informal teaching, children's activities often degenerated to such a level as to bring disrepute to the entire movement in education. Owing to such instances many schools reacted by returning to the formal assignment of subject-matter-to-be-learned and thus widened the gap of misunderstanding between reliance upon the old and acceptance of the new.

---

[13] William H. Kilpatrick, *The Foundations of Method* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926), p. 347.

[14] Boyd H. Bode, *Modern Educational Theories* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927), p. 164.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

The Emergence of Functional Subject Matter

The old controversy still rages between the teaching of subjects and the teaching of children, but the emphasis on child development is gradually winning. Especially is this the case where prospective teachers receive their pre-service education in schools, colleges, and universities where the method of intelligence is the method of learning and teaching and where insight into the growth and development of children is regarded as of paramount importance. Where this point of view is accepted in practice, inexperienced as well as experienced teachers begin to see that teaching not only can be fun but can be personally and socially enriching and rewarding.

Functional Teaching. No longer is subject matter in good schools conceived of as something to be pounded into the child first with one device and then another, with the prospect of failure for the child always looming ahead. Instead, subject matter becomes something one uses in the solution of everyday problems. One uses it to find out, to verify some point, to gather new information, to enjoy, and to appreciate something. Subject matter is not seen as something one stores up for use at some later period in adult life. It is instead something one uses now, and as such must become one with the child's experience of learning.

Too long have people thought of subject matter as existing for the sake of the particular subject or as a prized possession to have and to dust off on occasions. Today subject matter is something which functions in the daily life of the individual. Acceptance of this point of view has affected the elementary school's procedures, practices, and curriculum. It has indeed brought the elementary school into its own, so to speak, for teaching and learning now become an exciting and a joyous experience. What is equally important, both teachers and children can continue to grow and to reach higher levels of attainment.

But how does subject matter actually function in the life of the elementary-school child? Hart says that the real job of the school is "to help the child, the youth, the adult develop the ability to think; that is, to discover the meanings of the experiences that come upon him and to use these meanings to organize his life and his world."[16]

---

[16] Joseph K. Hart, *Education in the Humane Community* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), p. 88.

It has been said often and with good reason that one cannot think in a vacuum. Rather, one must have something about which to think as well as the materials with which to think. One returns then to the place of experience, which was discussed earlier in this chapter. A simple progression to illustrate the place of experience in learning and teaching may be expressed thus:

Experience→meanings→words→ideas.

When the role of experience is fully understood as basic to learning and necessary to the establishing of insights, the relating of the present to the past and the present to the future enables the teaching and the learning to function in the work of the school. Functional teaching then instead of authoritative dictation becomes the procedure for the modern elementary school.

Applying the Functional Approach. Perhaps one of the most helpful suggestions to teachers who are eager to help their pupils is to urge upon them the importance of simple things. Too often teachers fear that they will be criticized if their pupils are not measuring up to adult expectations, and therefore they present subject matter that is far beyond the children's ability to comprehend. What happens then is that children begin to memorize rather than to think. The teacher's task is to provide the conditions which stimulate thinking and then by a sympathetic attitude toward the learning activities to encourage the children to meet the problems of their own learnings. Dewey said that ". . . only by wrestling with the conditions of the problem at first hand, seeking and finding his own way out, does he [the child] think."[17] Thus learning originates and growth takes place through experiences both in the school and outside the school.

The good teacher in the kindergarten or first grade often takes her group for a walk in the early days of the fall term. This trip may be to some place of interest in the neighborhood or it may be a tour of the school building to see where the "big" children work or where the principal, the school nurse, the custodian, and other helpers work. The place of the visit is relatively unimportant. The important thing is that the children have the happy experience of going places and seeing things in order to have meanings and therefore something to talk about. So basic is experience to functional teaching that without one the other cannot take place. Especially significant is the place of happy and satisfying experiences in the

---

[17] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923), p. 188.

THE EMERGENCE OF FUNCTIONAL SUBJECT MATTER

The old controversy still rages between the teaching of subjects and the teaching of children, but the emphasis on child development is gradually winning. Especially is this the case where prospective teachers receive their pre-service education in schools, colleges, and universities where the method of intelligence is the method of learning and teaching and where insight into the growth and development of children is regarded as of paramount importance. Where this point of view is accepted in practice, inexperienced as well as experienced teachers begin to see that teaching not only can be fun but can be personally and socially enriching and rewarding.

FUNCTIONAL TEACHING. No longer is subject matter in good schools conceived of as something to be pounded into the child first with one device and then another, with the prospect of failure for the child always looming ahead. Instead, subject matter becomes something one uses in the solution of everyday problems. One uses it to find out, to verify some point, to gather new information, to enjoy, and to appreciate something. Subject matter is not seen as something one stores up for use at some later period in adult life. It is instead something one uses now, and as such must become one with the child's experience of learning.

Too long have people thought of subject matter as existing for the sake of the particular subject or as a prized possession to have and to dust off on occasions. Today subject matter is something which functions in the daily life of the individual. Acceptance of this point of view has affected the elementary school's procedures, practices, and curriculum. It has indeed brought the elementary school into its own, so to speak, for teaching and learning now become an exciting and a joyous experience. What is equally important, both teachers and children can continue to grow and to reach higher levels of attainment.

But how does subject matter actually function in the life of the elementary-school child? Hart says that the real job of the school is "to help the child, the youth, the adult develop the ability to think; that is, to discover the meanings of the experiences that come upon him and to use these meanings to organize his life and his world."[16]

---

[16] Joseph K. Hart, *Education in the Humane Community* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951), p. 88.

It has been said often and with good reason that one cannot think in a vacuum. Rather, one must have something about which to think as well as the materials with which to think. One returns then to the place of experience, which was discussed earlier in this chapter. A simple progression to illustrate the place of experience in learning and teaching may be expressed thus:

Experience→meanings→words→ideas.

When the role of experience is fully understood as basic to learning and necessary to the establishing of insights, the relating of the present to the past and the present to the future enables the teaching and the learning to function in the work of the school. Functional teaching then instead of authoritative dictation becomes the procedure for the modern elementary school.

Applying the Functional Approach. Perhaps one of the most helpful suggestions to teachers who are eager to help their pupils is to urge upon them the importance of simple things. Too often teachers fear that they will be criticized if their pupils are not measuring up to adult expectations, and therefore they present subject matter that is far beyond the children's ability to comprehend. What happens then is that children begin to memorize rather than to think. The teacher's task is to provide the conditions which stimulate thinking and then by a sympathetic attitude toward the learning activities to encourage the children to meet the problems of their own learnings. Dewey said that ". . . only by wrestling with the conditions of the problem at first hand, seeking and finding his own way out, does he [the child] think."[17] Thus learning originates and growth takes place through experiences both in the school and outside the school.

The good teacher in the kindergarten or first grade often takes her group for a walk in the early days of the fall term. This trip may be to some place of interest in the neighborhood or it may be a tour of the school building to see where the "big" children work or where the principal, the school nurse, the custodian, and other helpers work. The place of the visit is relatively unimportant. The important thing is that the children have the happy experience of going places and seeing things in order to have meanings and therefore something to talk about. So basic is experience to functional teaching that without one the other cannot take place. Especially significant is the place of happy and satisfying experiences in the whole learning process. For example, Ribble, in speaking of the infant, describes the effect of early experience upon functional learning. She says:

---

[17] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923), p. 188.

1. "Mothering" a new born baby helps him to breathe by bringing into action certain nervous reflexes which insure proper and necessary respiration.
2. This early oxygen supply is a factor in starting the fires of life in the rapidly developing brain cells; hence it is one of the first steps toward mental functioning.
3. Good breathing determines smooth speech development and is throughout life closely related to both physical and mental health.[18]

The experiences of the home furnish the background for the later experiences of the school. If children have thoughtful parents who talk *to* them and later *with* them and who take them on small excursions after which these are talked over, they have a decided advantage over the children who do not have parents with such insights and understandings. When the children come to school they have had some experiences upon which the school can build. The teacher begins at this point to help them express their ideas through conversations, dramatizations, writing, singing, dancing, and the pictorial and graphic arts.

Functional teaching demands not only experience as a basic ingredient but also the development of a wholesome emotional climate in the classroom in which children work. Before children can create they must feel free to create; there must be an absence of criticism on the part of the teacher. When, however, a child in the third grade asks his teacher, "How can I make my tree really look like a tree—like the trees in the park?" the teacher shows him how to make the shadow effects that "make trees look like trees." This is a different kind of teaching from that which is often observed where children suddenly put their hands over their work when the teacher comes near. Functional teaching requires that children have the tools and materials with which to work and also that they have the time and the freedom to carry out their self-imposed tasks.

In order to teach functionally the teacher in the modern school must have as part of her professional equipment a deep understanding of the growth and development of the individual child and must know in detail his interests, needs, resources, and potentialities.

---

[18] Margaret A. Ribble, *The Rights of Infants* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), p. 21.

She must know the meaning and function of subject matter based upon experience. She must interpret both the child and his learnings in terms of the demands of a democratic society. And finally she must recognize that, as Hart says:

> Adequate education needs three factors: the contributions of the ages; the contributions of the child himself; and the expert craft of the teacher in developing an integrated wholeness out of these varied threads of life. Education must be as inclusive as life itself, since it is life; it must be as colorful and dramatic as history in the living; it must be as intelligent as science; as thorough going as technology; as free in spirit as the most creative poetry. The teacher who cannot body forth, and spirit forth, these variant facets of the living whole has no business in a schoolroom.[19]

The Changing Role of the Teacher

The role of the teacher today is, if anything, more complex and more exacting than in years gone by. Today's teacher is not only expected to be a child psychologist, an intelligent philosopher, a creative artist, a political economist, and a sociologist; she also is expected to be skilled in the techniques of modern teaching. Thus she is required to understand the researches underlying the subject matter of the elementary school and, finally, to be able to participate in the development of the curriculum not only with her own class but in the entire school as well. It is interesting to note how many teachers are equal to the task!

Widening Guidance Functions. Accompanying these newer demands placed upon the teacher has come one of the most satisfying of all professional experiences, namely, that of working with children and helping to guide and to give some direction to their activities so that life becomes richer and more meaningful for them. It is this guidance function which distinguishes the modern teacher from the taskmaster of a previous day.

But teachers have many roles in the modern school, especially in the minds of the children. In some situations the teacher is a substitute for the parents. This substitution begins in the kindergarten, where the child turns to the teacher for affection, and often extends to the upper grades, where children want "to talk things over" with the teacher. In another situation the children turn to the teacher as a friend and partner in their undertakings. The idea of the teacher as an "authority" is absent; in its stead there is the wholesome feeling that here is a helper as well as a source of knowledge which the children respect.

---

[19] Joseph K. Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

The teacher is often called upon to allay the fears of children. In a recent study of over twelve hundred elementary-school children in the fourth and fifth grades it was found that their greatest anxiety or worry was of failure to pass to the next grade. The teacher can do much to reduce such needless worry and apprehension. This is guidance, broadly conceived, as it should be.

The teacher needs to know each child in the group as a person. Some children need to build up confidence in themselves while other children need some restraint placed upon their personal confidence. But whatever the need of the individual child at a particular time, the teacher must accept the fact of individual variation in boys and girls if she is to be an effectual guide. Indeed, she should not only accept it but find in it one of the most interesting aspects of human development. It is the individual variation in children that gives society its most valuable asset.

The potentialities of a group of children are enormous. Here may be found the child who expresses herself in such exquisite prose as to have the quality of poetry; here is an embryonic scientist who cannot bear to leave the microscope, which is opening up an entirely new world to him; here is the child who talks little but who says much with a few strokes of the paintbrush; and here is the child who is concerned with the minor injustices and cruelties which children visit so carelessly upon each other. The list could be extended to include every child in the room because children are not like one another but different from each other. The task of the teacher becomes that of stimulation and guidance for each child in the group and as each child makes his particular contribution the group becomes the richer for the shared experiences. Functional subject matter serves this high purpose!

There are those schools where the role of the teacher is not one of prizing and strengthening wholesome individual variation but of making each child in the group exactly like everyone else even though this is an impossible task and inevitably results in failure. The progress of the world has been due not to groups but to individuals who made contributions because of the uniqueness of their personalities. The teacher who values this uniqueness of personality is the "universal" teacher who sees all children as valuable and each child as precious.

CREATING EFFECTIVE "CLASSROOM CLIMATES." The teacher is responsible for the creation of the atmosphere within the schoolroom. One of the great assets in the good classroom is a teacher who displays a consistent feeling of interest in *all* children. Reasonable consistency in dealing with even troublesome children gives added security to all.

Add to this attribute justice and fairness in dealing with all matters pertaining to the class and the chances are that the children will respond in highly desirable ways. Children seem to possess almost uncanny insights into adult behavior and motives and are quick to sense any evidence of insincerity or hypocrisy. Every study that has been made of children's attitudes toward teachers indicates that the children remember longer and respect more the teacher who was fair in her dealings with them. They often say, "She was hard but she was fair" or "She held you to a certain standard but she was fair." Over and over again this idea of fairness is expressed and always with appreciation for the justice which accompanied it. Subject-matter learnings are often effectual to the degree that the teacher is successful in creating a classroom climate in which children are willing to work because they know they are fairly treated.

THE TEACHER AS A PERSON. While there has been sentimentalizing over the teacher in some books, such as *Goodbye, Mr. Chips,* and ridicule in others, such as *The Hickory Stick,* there is no doubt but that the place of the teacher in society is becoming much more strategic than it was in earlier days. Today the teacher is not a mere cog in the school machinery; she is a vital part in the whole educative process. Teachers occupy important positions not only in dealing with seriously disturbed children but even more in dealing with the children usually found in a given grade in the school. Understanding the principles of child growth and development and being able to apply these effectively and well have given the teacher her newly won status. The sound professionalization of teaching, as implied above, is being recognized by the lay public. The respect accompanying this recognition is especially vital because acceptance of more functional presentation of subject matter by the public depends upon widespread confidence in the school workers using the newer interpretations of subject matter.

The teacher too has come into her own *as a person* and this freedom to be a person has in turn produced a different type of teacher in the elementary school. With the establishment of the single salary schedule has come respect for one's chosen area of service; with equal training and experience has come a feeling of security; with participation with other staff members on committees and in workshops has come professional dignity; with acceptance in the community has come responsible citizenship; and finally, with freedom of thought and action, has come an interesting personality. The teacher in today's school does everything possible to develop herself for in so doing she is in reality becoming a better teacher.

The role of the teacher cannot be isolated from the role of the person because as one is enriched the other is enriched. Therefore, the teacher of today seeks every opportunity to develop her own personality in order that she may better serve the interest of boys and girls.

One of the most significant roles for the teacher is to find expanding and enriching satisfactions in her chosen work. The teacher who has found them greets each day with enthusiasm and with eagerness, knowing full well that no matter what the day brings forth it will be interesting and valuable both to her and to the children. Unless she does possess this joyous quality the children cannot help but sense that in the teacher's mind school work is associated with drudgery and the more of it the child can evade the better.

While the need for good mental hygiene has been implied throughout this section, some of the requisites for both teachers and pupils which deserve specific mention are the absence of pressure, lack of criticism, and freedom to try new and different things. Teachers often say, "If only I had the time to teach the children in my group. I am so burdened with other demands upon my time. There are reports to make, meetings to attend, and goodness knows what all."

One school with which the writer is familiar has a "floating teacher"—one who has no assigned classroom responsibility but who relieves the regular classroom teacher for parent conferences, writing letters to parents, helping a group of slow learners, and the like. Each teacher is able to avail herself of this service at least four times during the school year and oftener if something unexpected occurs. School systems need to cooperate with teachers by finding means such as the "floating teacher" to facilitate professional work in the classroom.

Teachers and children also need time to accomplish their various tasks—time without pressure. The amount of time should be reasonable, as many individuals have developed habits of such slow tempo as to interfere with everyone else.

Fear of criticism has had a most inhibiting effect upon many teachers. Fortunately the modern conception of administration and supervision, which is concerned with the quality of the human relationships in the schools, is rapidly eliminating this aspect of the teacher's work. Freedom to try new and different things seems to produce a different kind of teacher in the elementary schools.

The Creative Teacher in Action. One of the most interesting of experiences for the child in the elementary school is that of collecting things. Too often the teacher is so uninformed that the child's collecting becomes a haphazard affair, but where the teacher is a person who eagerly "seeks and finds," things of interest begin to develop and to lend themselves to classification. Susan S. Bennett[20] describes one such interesting experience under the title "Shell Collecting: Door to a New World." Lois Lenski,[21] under the title "Let Them Create," describes the art experiences of little country children four years of age who come running into her studio shouting, "I have an idea, I have an idea." They talk about ideas and then the children eagerly start to paint. These two articles illustrate what can be done with children's interests when the creative adult becomes the teacher. The children develop and expand their interests and the teacher's life takes on new meanings also.

The role of the truly effective teacher cannot be overestimated in the lives of elementary-school children. It is the teacher upon whom they are dependent for the expansion of their own personalities and the understanding of the culture of which they are a part. The teacher with joy in her heart, enthusiasm for life, and security within herself opens the doors for children upon a wondrous world.

Subject matter in the hands of such a person becomes more than material to be studied in books, even though books on a greater variety of topics must now be provided. It is more than experience, even though all kinds of experiences must now be shared. Resources must be included both in persons and in materials. For the world expands from the individual to others; from social topics to scientific ones; from the known to the unknown; from the complex to the simple; from the whole to the parts. Thus the whole concept of what is subject matter takes on new meanings and new interpretations and new joys for the learner. *Subject matter is not something to be learned, an end in itself. It is instead the means to a wider, richer, and more socially useful life*—a life filled with significance, a life of color, atmosphere, and simplicity, a life of imagination and vitality.

---

[20] Susan S. Bennett, "Shell Collecting: Door to a New World," *The Horn Book Magazine*, February, 1952, pp. 48-51.

[21] Lois Lenski, "Let Them Create," *The Horn Book Magazine*, February, 1952, pp. 9-20.

Summary

Various interpretations of the meaning and function of subject matter in the elementary schools have ranged from a firm belief that the schools should be instruments of inculcation, through the era of overrefinement of things to be taught, to approval of learning by absorption, and on to an acceptance of the significance of purpose and the identification of the learner with the processes of learning. It was the acceptance of the idea of the child's purpose that marked the turning point in elementary education from the static procedures of the past to the more dynamic procedures of the present.

To understand the emergence of a consistent and dynamic point of view regarding the subject matter of the elementary school it is necessary to examine both the philosophical and the psychological principles underlying these concepts. The place of experience and meanings, selection and organization of materials in terms of the development and maturity of the child, reliance upon subject matter for enrichment and expansion, use of books to satisfy needs—all must be considered.

But subject matter cannot be separated from method, as the two are intertwined and one reinforces the other. However, the method used does determine in large measure the extent and variety of subject matter that will be experienced by the children. With the introduction of the project method into the elementary school the teaching and the learning took on new significance. The teaching of children rather than the teaching of subjects became the accepted procedure, and use was made of purposes, plans, interests, and activities. The next step in the developing elementary-school program was in the area of functional teaching, which demands experience as basic to learning and wholesome emotional health as a necessity.

The role of the teacher in the emerging elementary school has become exceedingly complex, requiring now a person of many and varied abilities, but with these newer demands has come the freedom to be a person, acceptance in the community, opportunity for personal and social development, and greater joy and satisfaction in the work with boys and girls.

REFERENCES

BENNETT, SUSAN S., "Shell Collecting: Door to a New World," *The Horn Book Magazine,* February, 1952.

BODE, BOYD H., *How We Learn.* Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1940.

———, *Modern Educational Theories.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.

BRIM, ORVILLE G., "The Foundations of Progressive Education," *Contributions to Education No. 1,* Ohio State University, July, 1935.

BURR, JAMES B., HARDING, LOWRY W., AND JACOBS, LELAND G., *Student Teaching in the Elementary School.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950.

COGHILL, G. E., *Anatomy and the Problem of Behavior.* Cambridge: University Press, 1929.

DEWEY, JOHN, *Democracy and Education.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923.

———, *Experience and Education.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938.

HART, JOSEPH K., *Education in the Humane Community.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

KILPATRICK, WILLIAM H., *The Foundations of Method.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.

LENSKI, LOIS, "Let Them Create," *The Horn Book Magazine,* February, 1952.

PAINTER, F. V. N., *A History of Education.* New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1886, reprinted 1912.

RIBBLE, MARGARET A., *The Rights of Infants.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

WHEELER, RAYMOND HOLDER, AND PERKINS, FRANCIS THEODORE, *Principles of Mental Development.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1932.

the simple; from the whole to the parts. Thus the whole concept of what is subject matter takes on new meanings and new interpretations and new joys for the learner. *Subject matter is not something to be learned, an end in itself. It is instead the means to a wider, richer, and more socially useful life*—a life filled with significance, a life of color, atmosphere, and simplicity, a life of imagination and vitality.

SUMMARY

Various interpretations of the meaning and function of subject matter in the elementary schools have ranged from a firm belief that the schools should be instruments of inculcation, through the era of overrefinement of things to be taught, to approval of learning by absorption, and on to an acceptance of the significance of purpose and the identification of the learner with the processes of learning. It was the acceptance of the idea of the child's purpose that marked the turning point in elementary education from the static procedures of the past to the more dynamic procedures of the present.

To understand the emergence of a consistent and dynamic point of view regarding the subject matter of the elementary school it is necessary to examine both the philosophical and the psychological principles underlying these concepts. The place of experience and meanings, selection and organization of materials in terms of the development and maturity of the child, reliance upon subject matter for enrichment and expansion, use of books to satisfy needs—all must be considered.

But subject matter cannot be separated from method, as the two are intertwined and one reinforces the other. However, the method used does determine in large measure the extent and variety of subject matter that will be experienced by the children. With the introduction of the project method into the elementary school the teaching and the learning took on new significance. The teaching of children rather than the teaching of subjects became the accepted procedure, and use was made of purposes, plans, interests, and activities. The next step in the developing elementary-school program was in the area of functional teaching, which demands experience as basic to learning and wholesome emotional health as a necessity.

The role of the teacher in the emerging elementary school has become exceedingly complex, requiring now a person of many and varied abilities, but with these newer demands has come the freedom to be a person, acceptance in the community, opportunity for personal and social development, and greater joy and satisfaction in the work with boys and girls.

REFERENCES

BENNETT, SUSAN S., "Shell Collecting: Door to a New World," *The Horn Book Magazine,* February, 1952.

BODE, BOYD H., *How We Learn.* Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1940.

———, *Modern Educational Theories.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.

BRIM, ORVILLE G., "The Foundations of Progressive Education," *Contributions to Education No. 1,* Ohio State University, July, 1935.

BURR, JAMES B., HARDING, LOWRY W., AND JACOBS, LELAND G., *Student Teaching in the Elementary School.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950.

COGHILL, G. E., *Anatomy and the Problem of Behavior.* Cambridge: University Press, 1929.

DEWEY, JOHN, *Democracy and Education.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923.

———, *Experience and Education.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938.

HART, JOSEPH K., *Education in the Humane Community.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

KILPATRICK, WILLIAM H., *The Foundations of Method.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926.

LENSKI, LOIS, "Let Them Create," *The Horn Book Magazine,* February, 1952.

PAINTER, F. V. N., *A History of Education.* New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1886, reprinted 1912.

RIBBLE, MARGARET A., *The Rights of Infants.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1943.

WHEELER, RAYMOND HOLDER, AND PERKINS, FRANCIS THEODORE, *Principles of Mental Development.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1932.

CHAPTER XIV

The Expanding Role of the Elementary School[1]

> If we work upon marble, it will perish: if on brass, time will efface it: if we rear temples, they will crumble into dust: but if we work upon immortal minds and imbue them with principles, with the just fear of God and love of our fellow men, we engrave on those tablets something that will brighten to all eternity.
>
> —DANIEL WEBSTER

THE founding fathers of colonial America, as pointed out in earlier chapters, conceived of the elementary school as a place where children learned to read the Bible. Later, literacy was recognized as necessary for functional citizenship. Arithmetic was added to meet the needs of an expanding commercial citizenry. Pressure groups, as well as educators, added other requirements (cf. Chapters V and VIII) so that now the mid-twentieth-century elementary school is expected to teach not only the three R's but also music, art, science, literature, physical education, and so forth. In one state as many as twenty-one subjects are required.

In addition, the work of psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, and others led to the increasing acceptance of responsibility by school people for the "whole" child. Thinking citizens were recognizing that children and schools were not isolated from the life of communities and nations. Particularly during World War I and World War II data were collected revealing that educational and community conditions in areas far removed from each other geographically could be of common importance.[2]

The Seven Cardinal Principles of Education were formulated by a group of leading educators and citizens during the later years of World War I. Clearly, these demonstrate the broad conception of education held by leaders of that day. These principles were health, command of the fundamental processes, worthy home membership, vocations, civic education, worthy use of leisure time, and ethical character. Then, following the depression of the early 1930's, the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association issued a series of publications of great importance. Leading educators met with others who were selected as being particularly sensitive to the problems of the twentieth-century American democracy. The first two volumes produced were *The Unique Function of American Education in Democracy* and *The Purposes of Education in American Democracy*.[3]

---

[1] This chapter was written by Dan T. Dawson, Stanford University. It was planned in cooperation with Paul Hanna, Stanford University.

[2] F. J. Brown, *Educational Sociology* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947), pp. 465-472.

The four major purposes of education as presented in these volumes are so conceived that the ideas expressed challenge the finest talent in education today. Even a casual examination of the purposes reveals the comprehensive character of education. In addition to self-realization through academic learning, human relationships are emphasized and the broad responsibility of modern citizenship is delineated. The interpretation and application of these ideas to educational practice may change with the times, but the concepts themselves are basic to American democracy: self-realization, human relationships, economic efficiency, and civic responsibility.

Efforts of American educators in trying to achieve these purposes have resulted in an ever expanding role for the elementary school. This expansion may be conceived in a vertical-horizontal relationship: vertical expansion upward to include parents in a variety of ways, vertical expansion downward to include the three- to five-year-old; horizontal expansion internally to include broader curricular offerings and externally to include building and educational services to the community.

THE DOWNWARD EXPANSION

Beginning approximately a century ago with the establishment of the first kindergarten in the United States and extending to the present time, there has been a growing realization on the part of informed citizens of the need for early childhood education. This concern has been evidenced in two important ways: first, in the establishing of private nursery schools and kindergartens in all parts of the country, and second, in the promotion of legislation providing either partial or total support for kindergartens and child-care centers in the various states.

---

[3] Cf. Chapter VIII for more detailed information regarding the several publications mentioned.

The use of state funds for the support of kindergartens had been authorized by thirty-two states by the end of 1945.[4] This number has been increased since then. In addition, several of the states have legislation permitting local administrative units to levy taxes for kindergartens on a voluntary basis. Several of the states have appropriated funds to supplement and/or to continue child-care programs developed by federal agencies during World War II.

According to the Bureau of the Census, there are more than 14,000,000 children under six years of age in the United States. In 1950, more than 900,000 five- and six-year-olds were in either public or private kindergartens. More than 10 per cent of the two- through five-year-old group were enrolled in school, 69 per cent of the six-year-olds, 92 per cent of the seven-year-olds, and 95 per cent of the eight-year-olds. Nearly all of the two- to five-year-olds attending school lived in cities.[5] Provisions for this large, expanding group must continue to be made more adequate. Social attitudes developed as a result of experiences during this period create the foundations for future social relationships.

Much of the present interest in early childhood education has developed as the result of experiences with children during the 1930 depression and during World War II. Conditions in the industrial and war housing centers were such that extended day-care centers and child-care centers were wartime necessities. The great increase in the number of young children and the increase in the mobility of the United States population also contribute to the problem. More than one-fifth of the civilian population moved across a county or state boundary during the period 1940-1947. More than two million people migrated to the western states during the same period. The continuing pressure of the defense effort and the steady increase in the numbers of women who are heads of families continue to aggravate this condition. There is every indication that some permanent educational provisions must be made for the two- and five-year-olds in modern society.

Confidence expressed in these programs is well founded, for they are based upon a background of study of the conditions under which children best grow and develop, and upon experience in meeting the needs of individual children and their families. Because of the close ties between young children and their parents both types of needs are included in the guidance program of nursery schools and kindergartens. Equipment is designed and routines of the daily program planned for meeting the children's needs for control of their physical bodies, for experiences in learning to get along well with others, for gaining ideas, and for developing a vocabulary with which to express them. Accounts kept of the children's experiences and of their individual progress provide basic records for their continuing school experiences as well as for their day by day guidance.

---

[4] *Educational Services for Young Children* (Washington, D.C.: Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators, 1945), p. 37.

[5] NEA Research Bulletin, *Schools and the 1950 Census*, 29:4, December, 1951.

The balanced programs of active play, food service and periods of rest guided by professionally prepared teachers had proved their worth to young children in prewar years. But during the periods of national defense and war they were recognized as a major help in counteracting negative, aggressive, and introvertive behaviors expressive largely of an undermined sense of security which resulted from such experiences as family migrations to and from centers of employment, a lack of home routines when parents were employed outside the home or fathers were absent in war services, and from the confusions of congested living arrangements. These schools for young children are especially needed in the current postwar period of family adjustments.[6]

The recognition that the early childhood years are important and the acceptance of responsibility for an educational program during part of that period constitutes an important step in social thinking.

Another factor having its effect on the early childhood program is the impact of total community planning and the redevelopment of depressed areas in large cities. Community planners, concerned with the total social and emotional development of children, have conceived several functions for early childhood schools. Since nearly all school programs designed to strengthen early childhood development have taken place in urban areas, owing to population density, it is natural that much of the thinking in relation to them has been done by urban planners.

Lewis Mumford, a proponent of the technically planned community, has defined the neighborhood:

> . . . as an area within the scope and interest of a preadolescent child: such that daily life can have unity and significance for him, as a repre-

---

[6] Mary Dabney Davis, *Schools for Children Under Six*, Bulletin, No. 5, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947).

> sentation of the larger social whole. . . . Under the new biotechnic economy, the city becomes again, as it has often been in the past, the chief instrument of education: the wider school of the young and the university of the adult; whilst the factory, the meeting hall, the political committee, the scientific society become, as it were, auxiliaries of the school. And under such conditions an important result must follow: the processes and activities of the school will tend to set a mold for the social process as a whole.[7]

Modern community planners have included early childhood schools in many of their housing developments. Notable examples are the Queensbridge Houses, New York, and the Michael Reese Hospital Development, Chicago. Nearly all the housing projects developed by the FPHA during World War II included facilities for nursery schools and child-care centers. The Channel Heights Housing Project in San Pedro, California, for which Richard Neutra was the architect, is an example.

Other types of nursery schools include the private, neighborhood school, usually developed under above-average economic conditions and catering to the well-to-do families; and the cooperative-type nursery school, where parents are required to participate in the operation of the school and to attend classes on child study. Some of these will become connected with elementary schools.

A few school districts, like the New Trier Township High School in Winnetka, Illinois, have established nursery schools in connection with the secondary schools. A similar arrangement exists at many colleges and universities. At Stanford University, a nursery school is operated at Stanford Village, a low-cost housing center for married Stanford students and for graduate students. This school is used as an observation and participation center by the psychology department. The School of Education requires all elementary teaching candidates to take courses in clinical observation and nursery-school practice at the nursery center. More of such centers are needed to serve in training programs and to extend present-day understandings of the growth and development characteristics of early childhood. To be fully effective an elementary-school teacher needs to develop insight with regard to child development during the nursery-school years.

The longitudinal studies in child welfare at the University of

---

[7] Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1942), pp. 473 ff.

Iowa, and at the Institute of Child Welfare, University of California, Berkeley, are noteworthy examples of what can be done to study children. New teachers capable of skillfully assessing the growth and development needs of the primary-school child cannot be prepared properly unless adequate centers for observation and participation have been established on a continuing basis.

The extension of this work should come more fully to include the study of the physically and mentally handicapped. Services to such children are extremely important during the early childhood years. Schools, unequipped to handle the physically and mentally atypical child, have shifted the responsibility to the state, and the handicapped are often provided with special institutional housing. Cases properly within the authority of the school place upon the school a responsibility for special educational facilities and programs.

The Upward Expansion

Parent Participation. The attitude of many nineteenth-century educators that "parents should send their children to school and then keep out of the way" is in contradiction to the expanding role of the elementary school. "Partners with Parents" or "Fifty Teachers (parents) to a Classroom" more nearly expresses the quality of relationship to be sought.

The increasing costs of elementary education have led thinking citizens to ask pertinent questions about the modern school—and rightfully so. Educators have recognized in this informed citizenry a resource they need to capitalize upon further. *Fifty Teachers to a Classroom*[8] is the story of how five school districts have made significant use of the abilities of their parents. These schools have developed a Community Resources file, listing the names of persons capable and willing to share travel experiences, scientific abilities, talents in music or art, special collections, and the like. Rich human resources are to be found in every school if the care and effort requisite to unearthing them are applied properly. The schools benefit by a richer curriculum; the community benefits by an understanding of the school's program.

Parent Education. A concomitant of the great increase in numbers of young children has been a corresponding increase in the number of parents interested in child study groups. Typically, these study groups were organized as a phase of the adult-education program and were housed in a high school far removed from neighborhood schools. Under such conditions, mothers and fathers are deprived of the opportunity to study their children in terms of a neighborhood culture or to cooperate with other parents of their locality for concerted action.

---

[8] Metropolitan School Study Council, *Fifty Teachers to a Classroom* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950), p. 44.

The elementary school will discharge increasingly important social functions when parents may meet in neighborhood schools with teacher-counselors whom they know and with whom they can work and study. Leadership in this work may be by kindergarten teachers who devote half-days to teaching and half-days or evenings to parent education and counseling. Discussions may also be conducted by the school principal or assistant principal or by members of the central guidance staff. Also, time should be found when any classroom teacher can be freed for an hour or two to serve as a discussant or consultant. Discussions will always be carried out, in good schools, by those professionally prepared for the task—those who can bring a background of special study and preparation to the local community. This responsibility calls for increased preparation in clinical psychology and in understanding child growth and development, and the nature of developmental tasks, as well as in the study of modern American society, culture groups, family problems, juvenile delinquency, and the like. The importance of parent education and guidance will be recognized, in all schools of the future, as a vital aspect of the total elementary-school program.

THE COMMUNITY SCHOOL. Another important expansion to include parents and citizens is in connection with lay advisory groups concerned with total school-community development. The uniqueness of each school in a large community and the need for each school to have unique qualities as it serves the local community have been receiving increasing recognition. There is a growing trend in larger school districts toward the individualization of programs in each neighborhood school. The recognition of greatly varying requirements in rural schools long has been accepted.[9] The need to involve lay school-community leaders in that program has not been widely recognized.

What is, or should be, the total involvement of the school in the community? At least four kinds or types of community schools can be described. Although there is overlap among categories, the distinctions are sufficient for commentary.

---

[9] National Society for the Study of Education, *Education in Rural Communities*, Fifty-First Yearbook, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), pp. 123 ff.

Type One: The Civic-Services Level. At this level various community services are housed in the school plant: library services, recreation facilities, health services, and the like. In addition, the school may be used as a meeting place by many organized groups: the PTA, Boy and Girl Scouts, Brownies, etc. One state has a "Civic Center" act *requiring* that school facilities be made available, free of charge, to such groups. In some communities a committee of lay citizens, PTA members, recreation leaders, and the school staff assume responsibility for events such as Hallowe'en Carnivals, Kite Day, and May Day festivals.

A school site that represents the only available or desirable recreation location in a community clearly should serve the multiple function of a community playground, recreation center, and school plant. Special field houses could be constructed to supplement original buildings. Coordination between the total school program and the community recreation plans then becomes necessary. Such liaison requires a close working relationship between school officials, recreation and park directors, and various citizens.

Another common type of association in the interests of improved community service is between school and community health agencies. Such a service often may be provided in quarters established in the schools and operated by the Health Department. Thus all levels of a community can be served from a common center. This system prevents the overlapping of services and facilities that characterizes health services in many communities. It also enables the school nurse to be familiar with community conditions as a whole and to deal with them in ways that are impossible when she limits her contacts to school-age children. It makes it possible for the school staff to be informed about all community health conditions so that the school health education program can be developed realistically in light of local problems.

At this level, the community school is distinguished chiefly by the fact that it houses services needed by the community and provides a meeting place for a variety of neighborhood groups.

Type Two: The Community-Curriculum Level. Many forward-looking school systems have discovered a tremendous and vital force in their neighborhood and community resources: farms, courts, educational sociology and psychology, teache in these districts are applying newer understandings to learning processes. Children become spectators of the functioning of society. The "bio-technic" community becomes a reality. Raw materials are traced from the farm or mine to the processing plant, through the manufacturing stage and out to the retail store and consumer. Producers, processors, distributors, and consumers become real people as boys and girls take field trips and excursions to study the many facets of modern industrial society.

Carefully planned curricular sequences explore the myriad relationships existing in modern commerce. The interrelationships and interdependency of people engaged in meeting the needs of other people are studied at firsthand. For example, the relationships between social controls and technical development become apparent in a study of transportation. Railroads, airplanes, and trucks of many kinds lead to the sensing of modern conditions or problems. More trucks mean more and better roads, highway planning, rules and regulations governing speeds and pay loads, highway patrols and weighing stations, courts and law enforcement, legislation and similar necessary controls.

But the use of field trips and excursions is only one phase of a community-curriculum school. The use of resource people was mentioned earlier. Another technique is the community survey, conducted by teams of upper-grade pupils and used to familiarize them with all aspects of community activities. Findings may be summarized into oral and written reports, arithmetic graphs, and maps. Reports are sometimes made to parent groups, and the entire process is used to vitalize class and school activities. The chief characteristic of this type of school is the *use* of the community in achieving the school's objectives.

Type Three: The Vocations-Centered School. This type of school also uses the community but with a different emphasis. The community survey is used to analyze the vocational potentials and needs of the area. Labor and industry furnish advisory groups and liaison personnel. The chief emphasis is on job training and work experience. Obviously, the major developments with this type of school have been at the secondary level. It has been sensed in a number of elementary schools, however, that work experience and work attitudes can and should be developed during the elementary years.

tegral part of the elementary-school curriculum. In many communities, too, there is an attitude that the school should emphasize work and the importance of preparing for a career. At the secondary-school level this has resulted in the vocational high school and trade school and many phases of adult and continuation education. An interesting phase of this concept has been the attempt in a few pioneering schools to provide farm experiences for elementary-school children; to give them opportunities to care for animals, raise garden produce, and harvest fruit. Some schools have corrals and sheds to make possible long-term projects in this direction.

As in the case of the Type Two schools, the vocations-centered school uses the community as a resource laboratory, an enrichment opportunity.

Type Four: The Community-Service School. The preceding descriptions have demonstrated how a school might serve as an integrative center for certain community services or programs. A much broader concept of the function of the community school has been developed: the concept of the school as an instrument for social progress, as an agency that is consciously used by society for the purpose of self-improvement.

To quote Hanna:

> A community school is a school which, over and above its concern for the production of literate, right-minded and economically efficient citizens in terms of a particular social, economic or political setting, is directly concerned with improving living in the community in all of the broad meaning of that concept in the local, state, regional, national, and international community. To that end, the community school is consciously used as an instrument by the people of the community and its curriculum reflects planning to meet the discovered needs. The elementary school building and its physical facilities are at once the center for both youth and adults, who together actively engage in analyzing problems suggested by the needs of the community and in formulating and exploring possible solutions to these problems, solutions which are put into operation to the end that living is improved and enriched for the individual and for the community.[10]

---

[10] Paul R. Hanna, "Elementary Education in 1975," *Tensions in the Modern Elementary School*, Proceedings of the Eleventh National Conference, Department of Elementary School Principals, NEA, Dan T. Dawson, ed. (San Francisco: San Francisco State College, 1951), p. 116.

foundries, textile mills, bakeries, florists, or fire stations. Spurred on by developments in educational sociology and psychology, teachers in these districts are applying newer understandings to learning processes. Children become spectators of the functioning of society. The "bio-technic" community becomes a reality. Raw materials are traced from the farm or mine to the processing plant, through the manufacturing stage and out to the retail store and consumer. Producers, processors, distributors, and consumers become real people as boys and girls take field trips and excursions to study the many facets of modern industrial society.

Carefully planned curricular sequences explore the myriad relationships existing in modern commerce. The interrelationships and interdependency of people engaged in meeting the needs of other people are studied at firsthand. For example, the relationships between social controls and technical development become apparent in a study of transportation. Railroads, airplanes, and trucks of many kinds lead to the sensing of modern conditions or problems. More trucks mean more and better roads, highway planning, rules and regulations governing speeds and pay loads, highway patrols and weighing stations, courts and law enforcement, legislation and similar necessary controls.

But the use of field trips and excursions is only one phase of a community-curriculum school. The use of resource people was mentioned earlier. Another technique is the community survey, conducted by teams of upper-grade pupils and used to familiarize them with all aspects of community activities. Findings may be summarized into oral and written reports, arithmetic graphs, and maps. Reports are sometimes made to parent groups, and the entire process is used to vitalize class and school activities. The chief characteristic of this type of school is the *use* of the community in achieving the school's objectives.

Type Three: The Vocations-Centered School. This type of school also uses the community but with a different emphasis. The community survey is used to analyze the vocational potentials and needs of the area. Labor and industry furnish advisory groups and liaison personnel. The chief emphasis is on job training and work experience. Obviously, the major developments with this type of school have been at the secondary level. It has been sensed in a number of elementary schools, however, that work experience and work attitudes can and should be developed during the elementary years.

There are many types of work opportunity in an elementary school, and learning the importance and necessity of work should be an integral part of the elementary-school curriculum. In many communities, too, there is an attitude that the school should emphasize work and the importance of preparing for a career. At the secondary-school level this has resulted in the vocational high school and trade school and many phases of adult and continuation education. An interesting phase of this concept has been the attempt in a few pioneering schools to provide farm experiences for elementary-school children; to give them opportunities to care for animals, raise garden produce, and harvest fruit. Some schools have corrals and sheds to make possible long-term projects in this direction.

As in the case of the Type Two schools, the vocations-centered school uses the community as a resource laboratory, an enrichment opportunity.

Type Four: The Community-Service School. The preceding descriptions have demonstrated how a school might serve as an integrative center for certain community services or programs. A much broader concept of the function of the community school has been developed: the concept of the school as an instrument for social progress, as an agency that is consciously used by society for the purpose of self-improvement.

To quote Hanna:

> A community school is a school which, over and above its concern for the production of literate, right-minded and economically efficient citizens in terms of a particular social, economic or political setting, is directly concerned with improving living in the community in all of the broad meaning of that concept in the local, state, regional, national, and international community. To that end, the community school is consciously used as an instrument by the people of the community and its curriculum reflects planning to meet the discovered needs. The elementary school building and its physical facilities are at once the center for both youth and adults, who together actively engage in analyzing problems suggested by the needs of the community and in formulating and exploring possible solutions to these problems, solutions which are put into operation to the end that living is improved and enriched for the individual and for the community.[10]

---

[10] Paul R. Hanna, "Elementary Education in 1975," *Tensions in the Modern Elementary School,* Proceedings of the Eleventh National Conference, Department of Elementary School Principals, NEA, Dan T. Dawson, ed. (San Francisco: San Francisco State College, 1951), p. 116.

Educational literature provides numerous examples of how school projects have resulted in widespread community improvement. The emphasis here is that *such improvement shall occur, not by accident, but by design*. Unlike schools of the previously described types, the true community school seeks to improve the community as well as to educate individuals as it uses community resources.

An outstanding example of this kind is the Sloan experiment in Kentucky.[11] Many other descriptions of community health programs, recreation programs, and community planning could be described.[12]

Several problems connected with the various interpretations of the word "community" become apparent. Depending upon definition, problems can originate at the *local* community level, at the *state* or *regional* community level, at the *national* community level, and at the *international* community level. The interdependence of these communities can be shown by the following: Deliberations of the international organization must be dealt with by those immediately concerned, and yet the ultimate success of such organizations will depend upon local interpretations and sentiment. Thus an organization such as UNESCO finds that it is being studied and interpreted at the local community level.

Several of the Palo Alto, California, elementary schools took the lead in organizing a regional conference on UNESCO. A representative committee of lay citizens was formed and took active part in an all-day meeting attended by representatives from the elementary and junior high schools in the area. Many types of follow-up activities took place in the schools, and long-term projects were established. These children doubtless will become adult citizens with a better understanding of some of America's international problems as a member of the international community. The intelligent use of radio and television will offer immediate opportunity to continue this program.

Other problems are regional in character. An example is the long-range development of San Francisco Bay, affecting nine counties and several million people. The study of adequate fresh water supply, additional transbay crossings, rail and water terminal facilities, and the effect on upstream Sacramento River communities can be undertaken. Local community schools must be sensitive to the regional as well as the local aspects of such problems. It is not intended that the schools become the only agency or organization concerned with these problems. As Hanna indicated, the problem is one of alerting the citizenry to the problems and assisting in developing solutions. The superintendent of schools and his leadership in American communities are thus of growing importance. His influence is demonstrated by the fact that he is often the highest-paid public official in a given community and is a member of eight or ten important civic boards and committees.

---

[11] A. P. Sloan, "Teaching Experiments in Better Living," *The Nation's Schools*, June, 1943.

[12] For further development see: National Society for the Study of Education, *Education in Rural Communities*, Fifty-First Yearbook, Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), Chapter 5.

The Horizontal Expansion

An Internally Broad Curriculum. The creative demands of a changing society continue to expand the instructional role of the modern elementary school. Not only is the modern school doing a better job with "readin', 'ritin' and 'rithmetic" but it will continue to assay and improve its role in such fields as those discussed below.

Science and Conservation Education. With developments in modern technology continuing to maintain a gap between technical development and social control, this is a critical area. Expanded facilities—rooms, equipment, and, above all, teachers capable of guiding learning in the many phases of modern science—are requisite in all schools. Increasingly, industry is joining hands with education to provide the technical assistance and opportunities for community experiences with scientific developments. The continuing technological advance of this country is absolutely dependent upon an adequate supply of young people capable of working on science's industrial frontier. Coupled with this requirement is the issue of conservation of human and natural resources. Despite the rapid development of synthetics and the field of organic chemistry, the effects of the despoiling of timberlands, the permanent scarring of rich agricultural areas through hydraulic mining and unscientific land tillage, the destruction of natural fauna, and the rapid exploitation of mineral resources threaten the long-range maintenance of modern agriculture and industry. An alert and educated youth can change this trend.

Health Services and Health Education. Sensitive to the accumulated data of state departments of health and the selective service (and supported by the medical profession and leaders in health education), more schools are furnishing medical examinations at stated intervals. They sponsor "well-baby" clinics, serve as community centers for inoculation and immunization services, and provide nurses to implement the health education program. Dental examinations and instruction by dental hygienists increasingly are becoming a routine part of the school-year program. This program is preventive in nature and is designed to supplement and reinforce rather than to replace the services of the regular family physician and dentist. Trends to date have shown that school dental hygienist services result in an increased demand for dental and medical services.

In many communities medical doctors and dentists are providing clinic services organized under the auspices of the medical and dental societies and supported by public funds in order to care for children of low-income groups. Modern society knows that the health of all segments of the community is essential to total community welfare. Selective service rejection rates in some sections of the country have shocked the intelligent mass of the American people.[13] School trends are reflecting efforts to remedy the situation.

THE SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM. Considered to be a standard school item in some communities, the school lunch program is nonexistent in the majority of schools in the country today. Despite the effect of federal subsidies, the efforts of nutritionists, and the leg work of lunch program field representatives, the local initiative necessary to the support of a hot-lunch program has failed to develop to an extent consistent with its importance.

A variety of factors have operated against its development. For instance, the population upsurge has forced school officials to utilize every available room for classes. Increasing building costs have eliminated cafeterias, and even kitchen facilities, at the planning stage. Economy-minded legislatures have refused to include funds for hot-lunch facilities in state building programs. District administrators have been so engrossed with meeting the pressing needs of construction, finance, and personnel procurement that the instructional program and services have taken second place.

However, a vitamin-conscious public, aware of the federal subsidies available through the National School Lunch Act of 1946, and organized into PTA or similar parent groups, may well demand more facilities for nutritional welfare in the schools. Lunch services have expanded greatly during the past decade. More attention, too, is being given to special nutrition programs for malnourished children and children in schools located in economically distressed areas. Milk and other dietary supplements are being furnished in greater amounts through the use of regular district funds as well as through welfare agencies and service groups. The direction of dietary change of the American people during the past twenty years will become even more pronounced as more and more youth reach maturity and their nutrition education is put into practice.

---

[13] For further development see F. J. Brown, *op. cit.*

EXTENDED SCHOOL ACTIVITIES. Maturing school programs have found more and more opportunities to serve the community during what were formerly the "summer vacation" months. Extended school activities include remedial clinics in reading, arithmetic, and other basic school subjects; special summer classes for the gifted student in art, music, literature, or science; demonstration and observation classes in connection with summer workshops for teachers; workshops in drama and the arts; and specially planned recreation activities including folk dancing, swimming lessons, storytelling, clay work, and the like. Parents are discovering that children enjoy and profit from these extended summer activities when they are developed under competent leadership. The day is past when children were needed to help with the summer crops, work in the fields, and in other ways be economically useful.

In connection with natural resource conservation studies, and as a part of a developing appreciation for the great natural heritage and beauty of America, school camps are increasingly useful. The current emphasis on peer relationships and the development of social skills in group living will continue, but added to them will be practical aspects of conservation programs. Tree planting on burned-over areas or logged-out sections and the application of erosion control techniques to small areas will be practiced. Related to the camping programs is the increased study of the geography of North America, the location of natural resources, national forests and parks, and the relationship of natural resources to industrial development.

In one community the study of the effect of school camping on children's behavior has revealed that the amount of family camping has doubled since the inception of the school program. Total families are discovering again the beauty and charm of America's hills and forests.

Planned experiences such as "camp outs" and suspension bridge construction using simple tools have provided children with a new understanding of pioneer days and the hardships faced by the emigrant trains to the West. "Primitive living" takes on meaning, and the effect of electricity and machines on modern life becomes more significant.

As an adjunct of the school camp, or developed separately, the day-farm camps are located near the large cities and areas of great population density. The day-farm provides children with an opportunity to see farm animals—horses and colts, cows and calves, chickens, pigs—and to have a firsthand contact with the animals that are rarities to the big-city child.

STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS. The trend to give students a maximum of school responsibility consistent with their maturity is a practice likely to increase. Student organizations and activities of all kinds are assuming increased importance. Student councils, traffic patrols, office monitors, cafeteria hostesses, Junior Red Cross officers, nurses' assistants, playground assistants, assembly monitors, team captains, and library helpers are representative of the kinds of permanent groups that operate effectively in a modern school. Pupils learn to be responsible citizens by having responsibilities that are real to them. They must have the opportunity to make decisions, to feel the satisfaction of accomplishment, and to learn by mistakes as well as successes. There is probably no other single factor that can have as great an effect on pupil morale as the quality of the student organizations. Opportunities for pupil leadership and the development of initiative afford an important basis for a school morale. The resultant pupil attitudes promote more effective learning in all phases of academic work and provide a sound basis for feelings of security, importance, and "belongingness" that is unparalleled in the school program. These activities require teachers who are interested in children as people, who can accept leadership in any type of pupil, and who appreciate the importance of self-importance in the life of the child.

EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN. A few states and some of the larger cities have begun to organize, in comprehensive fashion, the total problems of exceptional children. Seven groups are now commonly identified (1) the acoustically handicapped, (2) the visually handicapped, (3) those with speech problems, (4) the orthopedically handicapped, (5) the mentally retarded, (6) the gifted, and (7) the emotionally disturbed. The problems of organization and administration are complex. Highly specialized education and experience are required for the technician-educators who deal with these children.

Special equipment and facilities are necessary for their care and education.

Patterns of organization vary with the size of districts, funds available, density of population, and availability of properly certificated personnel. The initial concept of separate classes and special groups has given way to a recognition that whenever possible pupils should be kept in regular class groups. Experiments in this direction have demonstrated that blind and deaf children have found it possible to make satisfactory adjustments in regular classes. Special instruction suited to their particular handicap can be given by special teachers at scheduled periods of the day. Extreme deviates of several kinds will continue to be segregated, but not until it is apparent that such an adjustment will be the best possible solution to their social, emotional, physical, and educational problems. In other words, cases must be handled on an individual clinical basis rather than as a result of legislative prescription. Three types of programs generally are followed: one, cooperative, where the child carries on part of his program in the regular classroom but receives special help and/or equipment and instruction; two, segregated, where the child carries on his educational program in a special classroom; three, integrated, where, because of an isolated position in a rural area, the child participates in regular classroom activities and is served by a visiting teacher.

Services and facilities for exceptional children almost certainly will be expanded in the elementary schools during the next few decades. The progress may be slower than is desirable because of a shortage of adequately prepared personnel and the fact that no facet of this program should be developed without professional specialists. The promise of the future for the atypical child is good, however.

GUIDANCE SERVICES. Clinical testing, psychological counseling, and advisory services for teachers through the efforts of psychometrists, psychologists, and psychiatrists already are becoming available to more and more schools. Further, cumulative folders and pupil personnel records of standardized types and excellent quality are being utilized in a growing majority of schools. The expert administration of record exchanges makes possible continuous records for nearly all pupils. This service should improve the quality of guidance service in the future if handled professionally. Finally, classroom teachers are making a contribution through the greatly increased use of sociometric techniques, socio-drama, dramatic play, more permissive classroom atmospheres, better teacher-pupil planning, and free-expression mediums such as clay and finger painting.

INTERNATIONAL AND INTERGROUP UNDERSTANDING. The importance of America's role in the world community, coupled with the need to promote proper and necessary intergroup and intercultural understandings within the United States, is providing great impetus to the development of international and intergroup education. The menace of communism makes a knowledge of communistic theory, its threat and tactics, a requisite for intelligent citizenship in the atomic age and should stimulate further the schools' effort to help children understand the basic features of other peoples.

The elementary school can make important contributions to these understandings. Adaptations to this end require a curriculum pattern "which would assure (1) that no child be permitted to leave school without basic understandings and attitudes about the world and its people, and (2) that selected experiences with problems of world community would be placed in the graded curriculum at a point where growth and development factors would best facilitate success."[14] Appropriate experiences are interlaced into the social studies, science, art and music, language arts, and elementary mathematics programs. Several communities have developed excellent projects in intercultural and international understanding. Typical pupil activities often include morning news period reports on world events, pen pals, Junior Red Cross exchanges, May Day celebrations with folk dances from many regions, social studies units such as "Mexico" and "Brazil," and the use of poetry and literature from other peoples.[15]

Curriculum development personnel, aware that many activities are shallow in concept and emotional in appeal, continue to engage in a careful scrutiny of the quality and appropriateness of intercultural experiences for children as graded curriculum patterns evolve. Merely learning the dances or learning about the customs of people with differing cultures is insufficient.

HOW MUCH IS ENOUGH? How far *can* the schools go in meeting opportunities for service and the increased demands of the public?

---

[14] P. R. Hanna, "Whose One World?" *Educational Leadership*, April, 1952, p. 460.

[15] For further development see: Ethel M. Duncan, *Democracy's Children* (New York: Hinds, Hayden and Eldridge, Inc., 1945); National Education Association, *Education for International Understanding in American Schools* (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1948); and National Education Association, *Americans All: Studies in International Education* (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1942).

How far *should* they go? Patrons of some school districts operating under maximum tax rates and bonded to the legal limit for building purposes feel that the limit has already been reached. Other groups, with an eye on increasing taxes, are arguing that the "frills" be eliminated and special services curtailed. Despite these pressures, there is every indication that the role of the elementary school will continue to expand.

Experience has shown that the citizens of the United States want the best in educational practices and services for their children. They are basically concerned that children learn the fundamental abilities requisite to literate citizenship. In addition a majority of citizens seek for their children or grandchildren services and facilities for wholesome, healthful living; for development of the creative abilities in drama, music, and art; for experiences with the best in literature; and for opportunities to learn to work effectively with others. Wherever school administrators have developed rich, broadly conceived educational programs of high quality, parents and citizens have demanded their continuation.

Kindergartens, science education, and health services are impressive current evidences of these trends. Internally, the elementary schools of the future can be expected to have guidance clinics, camping programs, and similar services as *permanent* parts of the emerging community school. Externally they can coordinate other community services and alert the public to any circumstances detrimental to the welfare of the child as well as the community itself. The vitality of the elementary school depends upon its ability to anticipate change and to alter its program in order to sustain its leadership. As H. G. Wells has succinctly stated:

> It is the school, as the creative expression of the aim of the community, which will some day give a new nucleus to the aimless sprawl of our present agglomerations of streets and houses, the school in the small town, the university in the great one. . . . The common school should not be thought of as merely preparing children for a way of living already defined and settled; it should be thought of as giving a direction to the whole life of the people.

SUMMARY

The expansion of the elementary school both vertically and horizontally will continue. Individual schools have initiated one or several of the features described. No school has them all.

The community-school concept is growing. Educational leaders and citizens are realizing that the development of the individual through interaction with his community and through contribution to his community will improve the quality of democratic American citizenship.

The ideal of the community school will be attained through expert teaching and administration, a high level of community cooperation and involvement, and inventive adaptation to local conditions. Educators in the community school will create methods of study and modes of school life that involve sharing, helping, cooperative planning, and joint acting, to prepare for democratic behavior throughout life.

REFERENCES

BOSSARD, JAMES, *The Sociology of Child Development*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948.

BUHLER, C., ET AL., *Childhood Problems and the Teacher*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952.

CHILDS, JOHN, *Education and Morals*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950.

CLARKE, J. M., *Public School Camping*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1951.

COUNTS, GEORGE S., *American Education and Civilization*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952.

DAVIS, MARY DABNEY, *Schools for Children Under Six*. Bulletin No. 5, Federal Security Agency, Office of Education. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947.

ELLSBREE, W. S., AND MCNALLY, H. J., *Elementary School Administration and Supervision*. New York: American Book Company, 1951.

HANNA, PAUL R., *Youth Serves the Community*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936.

HOLLINGSHEAD, A. B., *Elmstown's Youth*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1949.

METROPOLITAN SCHOOL STUDY COUNCIL, "Your Schools and You." New York: The Council, 1950 (mimeo.).

MUMFORD, LEWIS, *The Culture of Cities*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1942.

NATIONAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE, *Technological Trends and National Policy*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1937.

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION, *The Education of Exceptional Children*, Forty-Ninth Yearbook, Part II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950.

WILLS, C. D., AND STEGEMAN, W. H., *Living in the Kindergarten*. Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1950.

CHAPTER XV

Better Humans, Better Citizens[1]

TWO assumptions are basic to this discussion of the role of the elementary school in building better humans and better citizens.

The first is an assumption about the world that lies ahead of the children now in elementary school: *They will live their adult lives under conditions that will put unusual strain on the maturity of the individual and create unusual demands for good citizenship.*

The second is an assumption about our present knowledge of human beings: *The elementary school can, if it uses what it knows, create children who will be up to the demands of tomorrow.*

THE LIFE AHEAD

Strange dates, dates that have a peculiar sound as they roll off our tongues today, will be the meaningful dates in the lives of young children. The lad of six who is now in first grade will write 1970 on his love letter. He will write 1980 on his mortgage. His letters to his own children who are away at college will be dated 1990. That far-off-sounding twenty-first century, the year 2000, will be on his business correspondence.

Looking this far ahead may at first seem irresponsible or like crystal ball gazing. Normally the far look is too much in the realm of hunch and guess, of fantasy and the World of Tomorrow. It puts too great a strain on luck and chance. The crystal ball is open to too many interpretations. Each viewer is free to make his own shot in the dark without fear of serious contradiction.

We can substitute the rear-view mirror for the crystal ball, however. To find out where these children are headed, what demands tomorrow will put upon them, what they must learn today in order to be ready for tomorrow, a backward look can reveal some "insightful hindsights."

It will not depict the specifics of tomorrow. The past fifty years can show facts that reveal tomorrow's general shape. They can show off the broad outlines, the big pressures, the major strands, the large hills and the deep valleys.

---

[1] This chapter was written by James L. Hymes, Jr., The George Peabody College for Teachers.

CHANGE IN THE LIFE AHEAD IS SUGGESTED BY THE PAST. The rear-view mirror, for example, tells us that the automobile was first invented in 1893. Yet while it was born in the last half-century we take it completely for granted today.

The first transcontinental automobile trip was made in 1903. It was a difficult, hazardous journey, and it took from May 23 to August 1. Fifty years have squeezed down that time to a matter of days. In fact these years—the slower-moving fifty behind us—have almost squeezed the automobile out of the long-distance-travel picture.

This same half-century saw the birth of the airplane in 1903. The first transcontinental flight was made in 1911. It took eighty-four hours. Fifty years have whittled that time down to nine hours, even for lumbering passenger flights. Jet military planes make the trip in little more than three hours. What will the coming fifty years do, the years of today's child now in the elementary school? Experimental supersonic planes now go over 1300 miles per hour. In 1952—a date that may well seem hopelessly old-fashioned three decades from now—man sent hydrogen protons racing around a stainless steel track at 167,000 miles per second!

The past half-century has been full of record-breaking transcontinental trips. But the past decade has dimmed the importance of New York and San Francisco as significant goal posts. We are at home today with transoceanic journeys and intercontinental trips. We speculate freely about interplanetary voyages. This in our slow times, not yet in our children's spinning future!

The past fifty years created fossils faster than any previous period of time. In 1928 the first talking picture was produced. Within two years it shoved its predecessor, the silent movie, into the museum. The silent movie, an invention of the previous twenty-five years, today is a musty curio. Today's children know it only from descriptions in their schoolbooks, from tales their parents tell, or from flickering TV revivals. Will our television advances, seemingly so spectacular today, be as unceremoniously elbowed off the scene by the undreamed-of inventions of tomorrow?

When today's grandparents were born Custer had just made his last stand. Their children—today's parents—must make a strong effort of will to put themselves back into those simple days of Indian fighting, of mounted cavalry, of isolated wilderness. One generation has jumped into the intricacies of labor-management relationships, rent control, international currency control, clover-leaf intersections, regulation of the air waves, the complexities of atomic energy control, the hazards of housing near airports. . . .

Predictions can go awry even with the best of instruments. A gadget so crude as the rear-view mirror could lead us far astray, but the evidence piles up. These children seem likely to live in a world of unpredictability, of unforeseeability. Their life as adults need be only a simple extension of Today to make it that. But the mirror seems to say: It will not be mere arithmetical addition. Each Tomorrow will be a multiplication of the rate and scope and manner of change. A dizzying Newness broke into a trot in our times; it will gallop for these children.

Shall Our Children Come Out on Top or Be Snowed Under?

Once perhaps it was sound to say: "What was good enough for Grandfather is good enough for me." Once, in the past, yesterday promised that tomorrow would be just the same. But these children of ours seem headed for a fabulous and sometimes frightening new world.

They will be good citizens of their times if they can tackle problems. They will be good citizens if they can get at facts. They will be good citizens if they have the ability to think through to effective new solutions. These children will have to like to learn.

Their skills can be buttressed by the way they feel. These children will be good citizens if they have a sense of sureness about themselves. They will need the inner strength that comes with self-confidence. Weak in self-respect, doubting their own abilities, unconvinced of their own personal value as people, these children will not be in a position to use their skills, even if they have them.

Change may come so fast in their years of adulthood that these years may be a time of agony, of dismay, of upset and tension. Problems can pile on one after the other so fast that retreat, evasion, or disregard could become their way of securing a kind of peace of mind. Or, buffeted, off balance continuously, frightened, harried, their tomorrow could become full of hate and hurting.

Feeling secure and feeling able, thinking well of themselves, these youngsters can as easily face the pace of their life with thrill and exhilaration. They can have the satisfying sense: "*These* are the years to be alive!" They need not seek escape. They need not hit out. They can put to work what they know about problem solving. They can use their creative intelligence, free flowing and not drained by fear and doubt. It is this good feeling, this free feeling, this strong feeling *plus* sharper skills that they must bring with them.[2]

INTERDEPENDENCE AS A GROWING FORCE. The rear-view mirror shows another broad outline. Unless all the signs of the "slow" past fifty years are misleading, these children will live in a world in which people are much more closely related to one another than has ever been true before.

In America the past half-century wiped out the self-contained family. The Portland family drives its car only if the Texas family works its oil fields. The New York family builds its house if the Pittsburgh family makes the steel. The Omaha family wears new clothes only if the Chicago family keeps the railroads going. Increasingly the well-being or malcontentment, the education or ignorance, the wealth or poverty, health or illness, of each touches us all.

One generation, in the slower-changing life of our past, has seen new continents born. It has seen their peoples leap in a few decades from their prenatal period to a vigorous adult position in the world family. Recently old countries have reentered the scene through a social and ethnic renaissance. India, once quaint but unimportant, now towers, joined by a new giant—Pakistan. Africa, once sleeping, now stirs and awakens. Asia, once vague, coalesces and demands notice. South and Central America, once only passing lessons in memorized fourth-grade geography, are now as close as our coffee cup, the tin around our canned peas, or the mashed banana in the baby's dish.

The airplane has done it. The radio. Television. Our specialized and mechanized factory. Forces still in their infancy make us, even today, rub elbows. As the forces grow, and as new ones operate, today's children will work hand in hand with black, tan, bronze; coolie, fellah, peasant; rice-paddy worker, steel worker. . . .

The good human of today takes care of his family. He is concerned about them; he gives up good things for himself on their behalf; he protects his wife, his children, his parents. The good neighbor cares for his near-by associates. He suffers when they suffer; he rejoices when they do; he works side by side with them when they are in trouble.

---

[2] Several years ago Stuart Chase did an able job of suggesting a methodical application of the know-how of the social sciences to problems of living. Cf. his *The Proper Study of Mankind* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948).

The good human of tomorrow will have to expand greatly his sympathies and his concerns. He must be able to care, too, about people he does not see. Today's children must learn to feel and to accept a parental sense which extends out to all mankind.

To this wider sense of caring must certainly be added better skills in working together. Even today the group approach is built into the very fabric of our society. Already our problems have become complex enough to outmode the individual who works alone. The PTA and the CIO, the NAM and the NEA are familiar to all of us. We are seeing that people must share ideas, share strength, pool experiences, think and work together.

Today's groups are brought together on the basis of close and immediate bonds of interest, with common goals consciously held, and with the reinforcement of daily association. Even with all this help the members know only too well how hard it is to talk together. How hard it is to know what the other fellow means. How difficult to get excited about his concerns. To feel good about compromising. How unskilled we are in discovering talent all along the long line of membership.

The groups which today's children must create will not have the obvious bond of clear common interest. They will be groups of diversity, groups separated by distance, by language, by religion, by history, by national custom. And there will not be the generous time for mistakes. Our efforts to create a workable United Nations indicate what may be their daily job. Will these children have keen skills in easy communication, in ways of discovering human resources, in methods of reaching group agreement? There is a new need here, more dire than previous generations have ever felt.

As with problem solving, the basis for these extended feelings and keener skills must be humans who think well of themselves. Secure and sure, they can go out to other people. Unsure and uncertain, the "other fellow" will always remain a threat. Even within our today's limited family circle the unsure parent cannot take the resistance of his two-year-old; he cannot take the independence of his adolescent; he cannot even take the love of his infant. Can our youngsters come to feel so good about themselves that their own family, their national family, and their world family will not be threats to them?

Can we so live with them today that serving people—all people, more people—becomes an opportunity for the satisfaction that truly pleases an adult?

A WORLD OF PROMISE? One last outline emerges from the rear-view mirror: *Tomorrow can be a wonderful world.* It can have in it more of the good things of life than any period thus far. It can bring more security, satisfactions, and pleasures to more people than man has ever had the imagination to conceive of.

Even in our own less developed years we have seen comfort and happiness and health begin to come to our population. Our times have produced miracle drugs that save lives, extend lives, and increase well-being. They have produced fabrics and plastics and synthetics that ease life. They have produced machines that cut the strain and the effort and the wearisome struggle to produce.

These years have done more than rip out of life many of its painful, tiresome, and irksome moments. They have begun to build in moments that mean richer living. Our phonographs, for example—and what shall the people of 1990 have?—bring us the best of the world's music, its finest poems spoken by the poets themselves, the great speeches of our times. Our developments with the printing press allow us to see the masterpieces of art in their full color and bring us daily through the newspaper, magazine, pamphlet, and book the keenest insights of the world's best thinkers. The automobile can transport the everyday family to the cool of the lakeside, the quiet of the pine grove, the stark beauty of the mountaintop. The airplane has begun to bring the wonder spots of nature and of man the world over within the reach of thousands. Even we are on the verge of a richness of first- and second-hand experience with sound and color and word, with place and people, with thought and with event that is beyond all the dreams of earlier life.

It will be sad enough if tomorrow's adults feel pressured by the new problems change brings and by the new humans with whom they must interact. But if they do not come up to the challenge of living more maturely it will be a tragedy beyond compare in human experience. Standing on the threshold of a world of unbounded promise, humanity must not fail to live up to the opportunities of tomorrow's world.

Yet today, inherent in the promise of a better world is, at the same time, the threat of a worse life. Our products today are more wonderful but the same processes make our wars more terrible. Our daily life becomes on the one hand more physically comfortable and on the other hand more emotionally terrifying. As certain physical ills—small pox, pneumonia, diphtheria—come more under control, other ills increase in frequency: allergies, ulcers, arthritis, various neurotic and psychotic disorders. . . .

Today's children will have to capitalize on Promise and ward off Threat. Their need will be for creative thinking that frees them to see an opportunity and to seize it. They must be skilled in an imaginative approach to life.

This brings us back again to the kind of people these children must become. If they feel self-doubt they may be under a compulsion to cling to the stupid as well as the good elements of the past. A sense of safety could become their major adult concern; reaching out for something new and better would threaten this. Or, angry at the way that life has treated them, they may be under pressure from the feelings within themselves to choose anything New regardless. Unthinkingly. Uncritically. Not because they want a better life for all but because they blindly reject whatever was once done.

As self-respecting people (with good feelings built inside of them), they can be in a position to use their powers of critical thinking to dare to go beyond *what is* into the more dreamy realm of *what might be*.

The Dual Job of the Elementary School

Person and Citizen. In children's futures two threads will run: the Person and how he feels about himself; the Citizen and how he has learned to act, the skills he has acquired, the abilities he brings with him to tomorrow. These two are interrelated. Without healthy feelings the child's skills, no matter how well learned, will not be used for constructive ends. Without skills the feeling tone, no matter how sound, will not have the know-how to translate itself into appropriate action. What chance is there that today's children will have these two backgrounds? Can they become people who will live well in times of change, under conditions of social interdependence, able to choose Promise and to shy away from Threat?

One answer is: If they have good luck, yes. If it is in the cards, yes. If it is intended that people should meet the challenge, they will.

Can We Change Human Behavior? For long years we have looked on man as substantially unchangeable. We have been primarily aware of the many limitations on what people can do: the limits set by their inborn intelligence, the fence put around them by their inborn characteristics, the stern master we have called "human nature."

Our way of looking at people has been largely through fatalistic eyes. We have concluded: People cope with their challenges as well as humans can. But the human is fixed and final. He rolls through the years as he has to be. This conclusion carries a note of finality, of discouragement. Maybe these children will be up to tomorrow's challenge; maybe they will survive. Maybe they will not have what it takes. Then two alternatives are possible: (1) perhaps there will be a mutation enabling some to adjust; (2) perhaps many or all will become extinct because our human nature cannot rise to what is demanded of it.

All kinds of slogans reflect the idea that human nature cannot be changed significantly: "Oil and water do not mix . . . Each person is out for himself . . . Number 1 is the one who counts . . . Self-preservation is the first law of nature . . . There will always be war . . . You can't get people to think for themselves. . . ."

A quick look at the past spotlights these slogans. They belittle what schools can do to change people. They show most clearly the picture of human nature as something set, there for better or for worse—and often the latter.

A longer look in the rear-view mirror, however, supports an opposite assumption. It shows a hopeful *Yes*. Schools *can* do this dual job. They can produce better humans and better citizens. They can produce people who will have the needed attitudes and skills. *The elementary school can, if it uses what it knows, create children who will be up to the demands of tomorrow.*

SOME HEARTENING DISCOVERIES ABOUT HUMAN BEHAVIOR

The fifty years just behind us have been years of outstanding invention in the physical realm. Years of persistent research in the area of things. Years of continuous discovery in the field of matter. But the mirror shows too that they have been years of vigorous plowing into another area: What is the human like? How does he grow and learn? What is his power? What are his limitations?

The image is not as clear as that which shows the research into things. Only some of this study of humans has gone on in laboratories. Only some of it has been carried on by scientists. Only some of it has been under the banner of some namable field: psychology, sociology, anthropology, pediatrics, psychiatry, social work, and group work.[3] These areas are most discernible. Equally real but not as immediately apparent are the researchers who are not white-coated.

Laboratories of Living. For fifty years the laboratory of the living room and of the classroom, of the workbench and of the playing field have been added to the laboratories of the sciences. Mothers and fathers have been seeking answers; teachers in their classrooms; foremen and supervisors and employers with their workers in office and field and factory; the clergy with their flocks.

The search for knowledge about people is just gaining momentum. But even in the tedious and stumbling half-century which saw the first spur to the study of human nature and human development countless specifics have begun to pour across the board.

"Give them something to eat when they come home from school and they are less irritable . . ."

"Prepare them for the birth of a sibling and there is less chance of fighting and arguing and hurting . . ."

"Arrange the chairs in a circle. Make it as homelike as possible. Make sure they know each other's names and then they will talk more freely . . ."

"Serve them little portions at first and then they will like to eat and will come back for seconds . . ."

Sometimes the specifics look like big ideas: "This aboriginal tribe is friendly and cooperative. The respected person is the one who shares what he has. That is what everyone tries to do. They do not believe in fighting and think that it is a disgrace to hit or hurt another person . . ." Sometimes the specifics look like very little ideas: "Let the newborn baby live right in the room with the mother. Then the mother worries less about the child. She can pick him up when she feels like it and count his toes to make sure he has ten and not eleven . . ."

Man Is a Product. Big or little, from the laboratory or from the bathroom, from nursery school or anthropological field study, the specifics have begun to merge together into one big idea: *The human is a product*. He is a result. He depends, in large part, on what has happened to him, on how he has been treated, on what people have done to and for him, and on what they have let him do for himself. Man is the sum or product of his lifetime of experiences.

Many people are beginning to pull out this big truth, no matter where they work. Parents are stumbling upon greater knowledge of how the nature of his experiences influences the child. They are learning: "Insist, and the child becomes resistant; praise, and he becomes cooperative and eager." The idea is slowly dawning on them. It would be easy to assume that a child must be this stubborn, this negative, this refusing. It would be easy to miss knowing how genuinely cheerful, how willing and eager a child can be.

---

[3] Cf. Chapter XII.

Teachers are seeing it work out: "Tell, instruct, impose—the pupils become apathetic. Involve them, seek out their opinions, get their reactions—Lo! The youngsters have ideas." But the trap is there. You can easily sell out children as "naturally lazy," "naturally uninterested," or just plain stupid or dull.

Employers are noticing how the quality of experience may promote or inhibit employee morale. Exploit workers, and they produce at their minimum. Respect them, know them, and you are amazed at the output of which they are capable. The researchers have found it out. Be bossy and you get fighting. Be lackadaisical and you are likely to get no interest and no follow-through. But live with a group, play with them, help them to know where they are going, and you find a sense of humor, free language, relaxation, good feeling *and* ability to do hard work that might never otherwise have been suspected.

This new discovery does not throw out the old fact that each person has certain limitations on the extent of his behavioral changes. It does, however, challenge the old assumption that the way a person acts is all he is capable of doing. Some ceiling is there, but the significant new fact is that *the person achieves his best depending on the insight and intelligence with which we treat him.*

CEILING UNKNOWN—BUT HIGH. Fifty years of thoughtful looking at children have enabled us to raise our sights on what a human's best may be. We feel justified today in assuming that, while we do not with certainty know where the "human ceiling" is, it is probably at a higher level than we had heretofore thought possible. We have reasons for growing confidence that people are made with a capacity to think, to feel for others, to work with others—in short, with the potential to do the very things that tomorrow will demand of them.

The basis for this confidence is not a discovery of new fact. It is primarily a formulation. Our past fifty years have put together and given meaning to what countless previous generations must surely have seen: that the silent child evolves into the talking child; that the child grows into the adolescent; that the adolescent becomes, on his own, an adult. We now can look at the human and see him as a person ever moving upward.

We have begun to think in terms of *growth*. No longer bound by the concept that people are static or predestined, today we have at least a beginning sense that youngsters *like* to achieve maturity. Growth is their business. Growing is what they have to do. Growing is what they *want* to do.

Thinking in terms of growth has led us slowly to a higher level of aspiration for human achievement. We believe today that the developmental concerns of the human—his own growth—are such as to lead him naturally, with the help of a constructive environment, into an increasingly social, increasingly rational, increasingly cooperative, mature, and thoughtful role.

We have observed the two-year-old, who thinks only of himself. He may be an overly insistent child. But we have also seen the ten-year-old, who thinks most of all about how he fits into a small group of other people, his friends, and how he can do what this small group considers right. The ten-year-old too is overly insistent; but his concern is no longer what *he* wants, but what *the group* wants.

The ten-year-old—law-abiding, eager to please, anxious to do what is right in the eyes of his group—is what he is primarily because of the unfolding of himself. But ten-year-old growth is not the stopping point. This dynamic growing organism keeps headed in the direction of the very qualities that make human society possible.

The six-year-old often may cheat; the nine-year-old does not have to. The two-year-old sometimes bites; the eight-year-old does not have to. The Three may "lie"; the Nine may do so rarely if at all. The Four dotes on the center of the stage; the Twelve increasingly can take a back seat. The infant must be King; the Ten can be baby-tender.

A process is started at birth which, if kept going, has an eventual outcome. This outcome is a human adult who *wants* to care for other people, who wants to use his intelligence for their well-being, who is not insensitive to his own needs but whose own needs include strongly that of giving something of himself to others. This is *health* in the adult, just as strong self-will is health in the two-year-old.

OUR NEW KNOW-HOW. The past fifty years have given us a fundamental idea: *people are made*. These passing years have given us a daring vision of the goal: an adult with adult concerns. They have also let us begin to look for the common denominator of "what works" in changing behavior.

We think we have discovered how to keep this unfolding, this dynamic seeking for maturity, going and headed in the right direction. The answer is simple: *you accept each person as himself*. You let the one-year-old *be* a one-year-old and do what that age has to do. You let the eight-year-old *be* as fully an Eight as he can be.

This is the key to health, to the natural development of the human —to the development that offers the promise that people will be up to the demands put upon them. You strengthen the child as he is. You prepare him for tomorrow by letting him live today.

The evidence here is abundant. It comes out overwhelmingly as we trace the history of individuals who could not achieve the degree of cooperative, rational, social living that is the hallmark of adult maturity. Always there is the same story: they did not get what they needed as they grew. The result: ill health—mental, physical, and/or emotional.[4]

Shatter the sense of trust which an infant needs and you keep the person infantile, ever seeking satisfactions that were appropriate to babyhood, never free to grow.

Thwart the budding individuality of the young child, the chance for self-expression that he so clearly shows he wants, and you force him into a detour. No matter what his age, foolishly or ruthlessly he must prove that he matters. He is not free to grow.

Hold out on the school child so that he does not get the full sense of success and achievement that means so much to him. You put a road block in his path. The years go on. He gets older. But *to achieve* is now his consuming passion. It drives him, in legal ways and illegal. He is not free to grow.

The positive evidence is equally clear. The person who as an adult is at peace with himself, at peace with the world, free to use his adult powers of thinking, free to direct his action, free to care for others is the person who was allowed to live as a child. He was not rushed. He was not ignored. He was not intimidated. He had positive opportunities to be himself—as a young child, as a school child, and as an adolescent.

---

[4] There is increasing evidence that even many "physical" ills are manifestations of psycho-emotional thwartings. For a recent treatment of individual problems in development cf. Charlotte Buhler *et al.*, *Childhood Problems and the Teacher* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952).

Implications of Research in Human Development for School Practices Bearing on Citizenship in Childhood

Schools are helping many children to live wholesomely today. As we realize how much is at stake, we can and must do a still better job. There is research to guide us now. Many studies show: this is what the six-year-old thrives on . . . this is the preadolescent . . . this is what the seven-year-old is like. . . .

Respect for Children's Interests and Developmental Qualities. Of even greater importance, teachers today are learning to respect children's interests. Research, important as it is, of course can never cover *every* situation. It can never apply to every group, every economic level, every culture. Research can never take into account the peculiar and private rate of growing that makes each child the age he actually is, and not necessarily the age the calendar shows.

A respect for children's interests, for their developmental natures, individualizes research and extends research. Interest is the always-at-hand and readily available beacon that reveals where each child is. It is the outward expression of the child's inner growth—a sign a school can see.[5]

Ways of working are often more important than the products of the work at any one time. Today we have a way of working. Each teacher can become a "research person," alive and alert to the budding concerns of his own group, extending what books may have to say in general about "Children" (with a capital C) to each Frankie, Sue, and Paul.

We do not yet respect interest and developmental manifestations fully. We make children sit too much too early, prizing immobility in the face of youngsters' own evident concerns about being on the go.

We make children be too quiet too early, prizing silence in the face of children's own love of noise.

---

[5] For a recent, representative report on interests cf. Arthur Jersild and Ruth Tasch, *Children's Interests and What They Suggest for Education* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949).

We make children live in too-large groups too early, ignoring their obvious preference for small social settings.

We make children wait too much too early, stressing sharing, co-operation, taking turns, listening carefully—in the face of many signs youngsters continuously give that for long years *their own* feelings and impulsive reactions are all-important.

We prize cleanliness too much while children show us over and over that they love dirt.

We stress promptness, in conflict with children's own easygoing ways.

We put undue value on a continuous forward march, with no backsliding, saying to youngsters: "You're too old for that . . . You're big now . . . You've outgrown that." We do not make enough allowance for the fact that, although the trend is always up, the path of development has many dips and turnings. We overlook, for example, the way even middle elementary-school children, when they are free, choose water and sand, mud, dolls, and make-believe play.

We find it hard to know how to cope with children's unpleasant feelings: anger, jealousy, the desire for revenge, hate. We say too often: "That's not a nice word, a nice color, a nice way to feel." We leave the child who feels the way he feels with a sense of "I must be a failure because this is Me and I'm not worth much."

Most of all, we have not yet learned to heed children's many cues which suggest that they relish firsthand experiences much more than vicarious means of learning. Youngsters let us know by their submissiveness, their forgetfulness, their quietness, that books too early and words too early and figures too early are not their favorite diet. In contrast, they have freshness and bounce, vigor and ideas when they see life at firsthand.

Each time we ignore the signs that youngsters give us we tear them down a bit. We make them less well prepared as people to cope with later problems, to go out to others, to do the free thinking they will have to do. But we have made a tremendous start.

Building Childhood Morale. Fortunately, an increasing number of schools are better geared to the capacities of children. Many are also working hard to give the emotional satisfactions that every age of childhood wants and requires.

There has been a marked humanization of the teaching profession. More and more children feel about their teachers: These are our friends, they are good people, they like us and we like them. There has been a significant lessening of coldness and aloofness by teachers. There is a much closer physical relationship between teacher and student: the two are found chatting together, laughing together, walking side by side.

Outward changes indicate inner changes in feeling. Classrooms are more cheerful, more colorful. They have a friendlier air, with more laughter, more movement, more conversation. Children move their desks to sit with friends. They work on committees with people they like. Teachers praise more.[6] They visit children's homes. They know their youngsters from many close experiences: trips taken together, school camping, eating with them in the lunchroom and on class picnics.

Discipline Up to Date. Our progress is not complete. Too many schools still wonder whether there can be discipline if teachers and young people are friends. They are plagued by a fear of being "soft." They rely on the external pressures of rules, regulations, and punishments as the safest motivation for good behavior. They are not convinced that discipline must be based on affection, that good behavior is won by shared respect, that the internal desire to do the right thing is nurtured by love.

Too many schools find it hard to love *all* children. They approve of those youngsters who show they "deserve" it: the good children; the clean, the prompt, the courteous; the smart children, the willing children. They want the less compliant youngsters to "earn" the school's good will. They cannot accept what looks to them like "rewarding" bad behavior by kindness.

Many youngsters who do not fit easily into the framework of the school's rules and regulations—slow growers, the lower economic groups, the less intellectual, those whose skin color differs—do not yet have a school where they can count on approval and friendliness and backing.

Security Through Achievement. For all these shortcomings, schools today are giving many children a strong sense of security. Similarly, but perhaps to a lesser degree, schools have already changed some practices to give more children a full chance at the other important ingredient of sure growth: achievement. The lowest grades have made the biggest advances. Art and music, play out of doors, work with hammer and saw and paintbrush, dramatizations, live pets —these have become almost a standard part of their program. More chance exists that every child will fit some little niche where he can feel about himself: "At least I am good at *this*!"

---

[6] As far back as 1919 Hurlock reported that praise was more effective in motivating improved achieving than was blame. Neglect or *laissez faire* was least effective of all in encouraging improvement.

NOTHING SUCCEEDS LIKE SUCCESS. The slow banishment of retention in the lower grades is a promising development. Fewer children each year are stamped: "You are no good, you cannot do." The emerging practice of having groups of children stay with one teacher for more than one consecutive year offers hope, too. It allows a teacher a surer chance to discover where each child's strength is.

FIRSTHAND EXPERIENCES. The widening of our ways of teaching —the expansion of the use of audio-visual aids on the one hand and the growing use of trips, visitors, and other firsthand teaching techniques on the other—assures that more and more children will grow and learn significantly in school. Today individual school systems have greater autonomy and freedom from *state* requirements; individual schools have greater freedom from *system-wide* requirements; individual classrooms have greater freedom from *school-wide* requirements. Many a wise teacher is able to plan experiences that let each child feel of his school: This is where I live; I'm at home here. We are building better humans when youngsters feel this way. *Such feelings are the essence of good educational morale and basic to citizenship foundations which can be laid by good education in childhood.*

Much still remains to be done. Schools are basically book centered. Books start early, they continue late. No school gives the prestige to painting and hammering that it gives to adding and dividing. Few recognize mechanical skills or workaday knowledge of cars and electricity on a par with facts that can be compressed into a textbook. Again the same children are particularly disadvantaged—the less verbal, the less intellectual, the more manual, the lower economic groups whose culture does not continuously support the values of the school.[7]

In the middle elementary school failure becomes more and more common. Children are led further afield from the pressing concerns of their own living. There is too little added challenge as the school years roll along. The primary child takes the trips; the upper elementary child, who ought to be getting his great thrill out of longer and more intensive trips, stays in his classroom. The primary child has the policeman in his room, and the milkman and the fireman. The upper elementary child, who ought to be learning *directly* because he is brought by the school closer to the men who make his town go, finds himself more and more confined to books. The primary child has the job of watering the plants and feeding the fish. The only job the upper elementary school child has is his homework.

---

[7] For a charming, pertinent essay cf. Stephen M. Corey, "The Poor Scholar's Soliloquy," *Childhood Education*, 20:219-220, January, 1944.

We still have a long way to go, but more important than the *progress* to date: the fundamental *ideas* are out in the open. This is at least a partial guarantee that more and more progress will continue to be made. This is a basis on which one dare assume that the elementary school can create children who will "have what it takes" to live in the world of tomorrow. The school has what it needs to work with: a sound way of looking at children, a decent concept with a child's power. And it has the key to how a child attains his power. With these in the tool kit of improved practices, desirable changes are sure to come. Better humans are sure to come.

THEY CAN LEARN THE CITIZENSHIP SKILLS THEY NEED

The elementary school also has what it needs to build better citizens. It is in an increasingly strong position to equip children with the skills and knowledge they will need for tomorrow. Fifty years have taught us a lot about how children grow! And they have taught us as much about how children learn.

AS THE TWIG IS BENT . . . Once again the key idea in creating a foundation for good citizenship is simple to state: "Children learn what they live." Since the 1990's almost certainly will place a high premium on skill in solving problems, we must look at the life children are leading in the 1950's. There are problems here now, facing these youngsters at six and eight and ten and twelve. Their living today confronts them with challenges. We must direct children's thinking to these. We must help them build the skills to crack such problems. As each new age of childhood finds new tasks we must continuously make these tasks the focus of our education. Youngsters will then make a smooth transition into adulthood as problem-solving people.

. . . THE BOUGH IS INCLINED. If the 1990's will demand skill in human relations, we must share with youngsters today experiences which make clear the need and value of living successfully with others. Each year widens that circle of people. Each year—until gradually they become adults—they are practicing the very thing their adult years demand: ethical and mutually respectful interaction with human beings.

If the 1990's will demand that adults live imaginatively and creatively, children today must think that way about the questions they face as home-children, play-children, school-children. Maturing in creativeness day after day, as they live their lives, boys and girls move—still doing it—into adulthood.

What we know about learning today makes us pursue the direct line: "Do this, and keep doing it, and as you do it more and more you do it better and better." Once, when people faced the need to learn, educators counted on the transference of learning from one situation to another.[8] It was assumed that if youngsters needed ever increasing skill in problem solving, as today's children do, they could be readied by exercises in mathematics, in logic, in the solution of abstract and hypothetical tasks. If great demands on their intellect lay in store for them, the brain could be limbered up by general exercise on such hard tasks as learning a foreign language.

Today we reject the old concept of transfer of training: "Do this, and it will get you ready for that." We are not trying for *carry-over* but for *continuity and extension* of learning. We concentrate on enabling youngsters to be better citizens each day as their life unfolds. Then they arrive at some "final" state of citizenship, not by way of mental gymnastics and transference, but simply as one more day of doing the same thing they have done well before.

DEVELOPING GOOD CHILD CITIZENS

Some schools have gone further than merely to sense the new idea that children learn what their firsthand experiences teach them. Many are busy working it out in practice. They are identifying the problems that Sevens and Nines face. They are experimenting with ways Sixes and Eights can work together. They are uncovering the kind of research and action and evaluation that Fives and Tens can do.

Our vision is still ahead of our deeds. We carry a load of older ways: the children must learn almost exclusively from books . . . they must be seated for long periods of time . . . they must stay in their classroom . . . what they study must have a familiar name like

---

[8] Cf. Chapter II, p. 30 and p. 50.

"arithmetic" or "science" or "history" . . . the children must know all the old facts and old skills that once were our sole concern.

But gradually new content is coming into the elementary school. Here are typical, newer concepts of subject matter as some schools are making it function in children's lives:

Construction of a ball field these children want . . .

Operation of a store these children need . . .

Solution to the traffic on this street these children cross . . .

Growing the vegetables these children will eat . . .

Improvement of the classroom these children live in . . .

Analyses of the cost of toys, candies, clothing these children buy . . .

Creation of community play facilities these children use . . .

Knowledge of the motors that drive these children to school and to the movies and to the doctor . . .

Study of the bodies these children live in . . .

And beautification of the town that is home to these children.

Already there has been one pleasant surprise. Youngsters with this kind of experience *are not robbed of old skills and facts*. School can be a place where children solve their problems of living now and still attain a high level of ability in reading, arithmetic, science, history. These are measurable, and test results document the fact of increased achievement.[9]

It is reassuring, too, that the elementary school has already found many usable techniques that implement the new idea of what constitutes an educative experience: the trip that lets youngsters see at firsthand; the extensive library so they can dig up their own answers; the use of original documents and of the eyewitness; the expert who comes into the class when needed; the team of teachers, each contributing out of his background as the need arises; the experimental approach of "try it out and see"; ways of evaluating sources; the planning and discussion period where ideas can be voiced, examined, and (if sound) put into practice.

It is reassuring that parents and citizens have been pleased and more than willing to be "teachers of the moment." They have liked their dealings with young people who are immersed in the solution of real-life problems at a child's level. Even more reassuring has been the spontaneity, the visible enjoyment, the wholehearted support of the children themselves. The conclusive proof is still far off. We will not know for sure until 1990 whether this kind of schooling gives these young people what is their greatest need: useful practice —practice with "staying power"—on problem solving, on working together, on critical thinking; 1990 can tell us that. But in light of what was said earlier about building better humans, this support from the people most affected by these new teaching ways and new content is promising indeed. The fact that youngsters like it wholeheartedly is more than a pleasing facet; it may be *the* significant clue.

---

[9] For example, cf. the Texas Elementary Principals and Supervisors Association, *Children's Achievement—Today and Yesterday* (Austin: The Association, 1952).

Children's interest may be the sign that tells us that here the circle is joined. Here the citizen and the human come together. Here good feelings and good skills merge. This interest may be the evidence that the child is getting the dual preparation that he must have for a tomorrow that inevitably will put unusual strain on the maturity of the individual and create unusual demands for good citizenship.

SUMMARY

For centuries the viewers-with-alarm have pointed to the way in which changing times pose new challenges. Indeed, such concern can be found even in the writings of Confucius! But today there is a compelling, unquestionable need for the culture to influence young citizens in such ways as will fit them to improve the life ahead—to see that it fulfills its promise rather than its threat.

Fortunately, the elementary school of 1953 is the beneficiary of discoveries about human behavior which can enable school workers to make an appreciable contribution to an improved society—a society which is based solidly on desirable citizens who can be the foundation for such improvement. Research in human growth and development clearly suggests that the citizenship of the mature adult is the lengthened shadow of his citizenship experiences in childhood. Thus the promise of a better world readily may be made real as children learn the citizenship skills they need, not by precept, not by example alone, but by *living*—living the wholesome experiences *which in the childhood years can predetermine significantly mature modes of thinking and interacting and acting of the adult.*

Good citizenship is no accident. It is created by the interplay of many social and psychological forces as they impinge on the child. Constructive utilization of these forces is an imperative for education during the last half of the century.

REFERENCES

BUHLER, CHARLOTTE, ET AL., *Childhood Problems and the Teacher*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952.

CHASE, STUART, *The Proper Study of Mankind*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948.

COREY, STEPHEN M., "The Poor Scholar's Soliloquy," *Childhood Education*, 20:219-220, January, 1944.

GANS, ROMA, STENDLER, CELIA B., AND ALMY, MILLIE, *Teaching Young Children*. Yonkers: World Book Company, 1952.

HEFFERNAN, HELEN (ED.), *Guiding the Young Child*. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1951.

JERSILD, ARTHUR, AND TASCH, RUTH, *Children's Interests and What They Suggest for Education*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949.

TEXAS ELEMENTARY PRINCIPALS AND SUPERVISORS ASSOCIATION, *Children's Achievement—Today and Yesterday*. Austin: The Association, 1952.

CHAPTER XVI

The Future Challenges the Present[1]

CHAPTERS II through XV of this yearbook have indicated clearly some of the achievements of elementary education in the United States and have, at the same time, implied or explicitly suggested "next steps" to be taken to improve the school and community living of children. It seems wholesome that a note of urgency regarding the need for further advancement of programs for boys and girls characterizes many of these chapters. Although seven-league strides have been made in creating better environments for human development, practices in a large majority of schools do not yet reflect adequately the quality of education of which a nation such as the United States is capable.

The Challenge of the Present

The discrepancy between what elementary schools are *actually* doing and what they are *capable* of doing is perhaps the great challenge of the present day to school people concerned with early and middle childhood.[2] This is another way of saying that the American elementary school has before it the preeminently important task of working more energetically and effectively toward the socially desirable citizenship goals originally introduced in Chapter I:[3] social responsibility, the meanings of democratic citizenship, personal integrity, ability to use critically the tools of the educated person, pride in human achievements, faith in others, and a compulsive drive to share in creating a more humane culture for oneself and for others.

There is no easy way to attain these goals. Neither is there a single revolutionary formula nor educational "philosopher's stone" which will transmute present problems into solved problems. Rather, steady progress toward better elementary education lies in carefully evaluated and courageous action in resolving issues or controversies now extant or on the horizon where they have loomed for a decade or more. School workers have before them at this moment a wide variety of impediments to needed advances in the present level of childhood education. Many are old problems. Most are something less than spectacular. But it may well be that the long-term evolution of educationally significant elementary programs will depend upon the success of the profession in meeting the challenge of the present embodied in problems educators already have the means to attack.

---

[1] This chapter was written by Harold G. Shane, Northwestern University.

[2] The same generalization applies to secondary and higher education, but is not the direct concern of this yearbook.

[3] Cf. p. 7.

There may be those who will say that the issues or controversial problems to be mentioned below are lacking in novelty, hence of questionable interest to the frontier thinker in elementary education. They may ask, "Is it not evidence of a lack of vision to emphasize as typical of *today's* challenge matters which have become prosaic through long familiarity?"

Undoubtedly, this pointed question is worth examining. Nearly fifteen years ago, in the Third Yearbook of the John Dewey Society, this statement appeared:

> This, as we see it, is the "American problem": *to bring forth on this continent . . . the civilization of abundance, democratic behavior, and integrity of expression and beauty which is now potentially available.* To gather together the makings of the Great Society that are in hand and to organize them into a great going national concern that will produce economic abundance, democratic behavior, and creative expression—that is the problem of our times.[4]

Democratic behavior, *real* abundance, self-realization are values waiting to be more fully attained in our culture. *Ergo*, it seems justifiable to probe a bit at problems which smolder today, even if the fire is an old one, as they were probed in 1938 when another yearbook committee explored the curriculum of modern education. The mere persistence of difficulties does not make them obsolete. And the wise "educational frontiersman" will not leave his morning breakfast fire smoking behind him as he moves forward. He who does may find a consuming forest fire at his heels.

---

[4] Harold Rugg (ed.), *Democracy and the Curriculum* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939), p. 27. Italics in the original.

Some Problems Facing Elementary Education

If the United States is to make sustained progress toward good citizenship, as broadly defined, for instance, by James L. Hymes, Jr.,[5] the elementary school must make a full measure of contribution. In order to do so, teachers first must develop a clear set of values which they understand and accept intellectually rather than at an emotional level. Second, they must have the courage of their value convictions and the infinite patience required for the often unrewarding (or at least often unrecognized) toil which is requisite for permanent improvement in children's experiences in local school districts. Third, teachers must develop the wisdom and the tact needed if they are intelligently to explain and interpret professional teaching practices to the public.

Here is a small sampling of the specific problems which today are demanding the best efforts of the elementary-school worker regardless of the level or nature of his teaching or administrative responsibilities.

How Shall "Democracy" Be Interpreted? *Democracy* is an abstract noun. Although schools everywhere seem to be "for it" (irrespective of their curricular design or practices), there is no clear agreement as to how the concept(s) it presumably stands for are to be realized and strengthened in the lives of children and adults. To elaborate:

> [Democracy affords] a clear example of internal conflict, of pressures which build up even within [this] widely accepted source of values. Among adherents of democracy are those to whom the term primarily connotes equality at the ballot box; to others it stands for an end to rigid social stratification—freedom to rise above one's present social status, freedom to acquire and to exploit property—to become one of the economically favored, or simply freedom to do as one chooses, if by so doing the rights of others are not violated. Others, equally vehement in advocating democracy, may think of it in terms of the frontier and agrarian tradition scorning refinement, an outlook dating from the time when the educated and mannered person was likely to be a Tory and highly suspect.
>
> . . . .
>
> One more interpretation of democracy serves to round out a description of internal conflict. Among many educators and others who have studied it, democracy is conceived as a way of living together better than any

---

[5] Cf. Chapter XV.

yet devised, a wholesome way which prizes individuality and promotes self-realization.[6]

One of the challenges of the present is to determine whose concept of democracy is the most nearly adequate *and how it can be made a more integral part of school living, staff organization, and school-community interaction*. The matter of the meaning of democracy is closely related to the problem immediately below.

INTERPRETING SOCIAL GOALS. Woodring points out, "It is widely believed that educators are dedicated to building a new social order, and several books by leading educators lend credence to this idea. . . ."[7] Whether one accepts, modifies, or deplores the conclusions he reaches, the fact remains that educators at all levels, including the elementary school, need to clear up the problem created in recent years by poor semantic practices and fuzzy thinking with regard to those much-abused terms, "socialization" and "socialism."

The source of the difficulty may well be the tendency of some persons to label anything that has occurred with reference to social change since World War I began as "socialistic." One individual who writes for an influential middle-western daily, for instance, reportedly declared at a DAR national convention that, "A survey of more than 450 of the most widely used social science textbooks shows that every one of them encourages socialist thinking in the students."[8] It is difficult to conceive of what is meant by "socialist thinking." An interpretation or explanation of the TVA projects, of FEPC, of social security, or of the so-called GI Bill may appear in a book or article used by upper elementary or junior-high-school pupils. It does not follow that mention or description is the encouragement of socialist thinking.

Here, then, is the problem. School workers need to be clear in their minds as to what constitute wholesome changes that are in the interests of American democracy—what proposals and enactments are likely really to serve the general welfare, what policies will help citizens to enjoy an increasing measure of *earned* security, *merited* self-respect, and *humane* existence.

---

[6] Harold G. Shane and E. T. McSwain, *Evaluation and the Elementary Curriculum* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1951), pp. 89-90.

[7] Paul Woodring, "An Open Letter to Teachers," *Harper's Magazine*, 205:29, July, 1952.

[8] Frank Hughes, reported in *Quote*, 23:17, April 20, 1952.

If socialism means dictatorial centralized direction of American life, arbitrary regimentation, and governmental control of everything from American production to the individual's thinking, then no one of maturity and vision should support or advocate its tenets. But *socialization* of children or adults is quite another matter.

Socialization implies the development of social responsibility and social sensitivity. It stands for the values, insights, and beliefs with which the citizen in a democracy should be equipped. Here, for example, are some of the social behaviors of responsible young people and adults as suggested by 300 leaders in nearly every major field of endeavor and compiled by the Working Committee on Citizenship of the National Council for the Social Studies:

THE GOOD CITIZEN:

(1) Believes in equality of opportunity for all people,

(2) Values, respects, and defends basic human rights and privileges guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution,

(4) Understands and accepts . . . democratic principles . . . and judges his own behavior and the behavior of others by them,

(5) Understands that, in the long run, people will govern themselves better than any self-appointed group would govern them,

(6) Puts the general welfare above his own whenever a choice between them is necessary,

(7) Feels that he has inherited an unfinished experiment in self-government which it is his duty and privilege to carry on,

(9) Accepts civic responsibilities and discharges them to the best of his ability,

(10) Knows techniques of social action (e.g., how to win support for desirable legislation) and can cooperate with others in achieving such action,

(11) Accepts the basic idea that in a democracy the majority has the right to make decisions under the Constitution,

(13) Realizes the necessary connection of education with democracy,

(14) Respects property rights . . . ,

(17) Accepts responsibility for the maintenance and improvement of a competitive economic system, assisted and regulated when necessary by governmental action,

(19) Knows about, critically evaluates, and supports promising efforts to prevent war, but stands ready to defend his country against tyranny and aggression,

(20) Is deeply aware of the interdependence of people and realizes

that a good life can be attained only by the organized cooperation of millions of people all over the world,

(23) Is a responsible family member. . . .[9]

In the genuinely humble opinion of this writer, teachers need to understand what wholesome social change *is*, in the context of such values as the sampling above, and to act (and to help children learn to behave) in ways consistent with democratic principles. There is grave danger in becoming confused or intimidated by those persons who feel that any action in the interest of the general welfare, of fair play for all men at the cost of privilege for the few, is "subversive."

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL. Merely talking about democratic values does not acquit one of social responsibility. The preceding point—that teachers must accept social responsibility and help children to have experiences which will make *them* socially responsible democratic citizens—needs to be made meaningful by the *efforts* of teachers.

A typical problem is that of creating more nearly equal opportunity for all children by erasing substandard schools from the American scene. Elementary education as a whole is handicapped by the inequitable distribution of wealth among the forty-eight states, and by the variations in the potentialities of school districts for supporting good education within a state. It is not a rarity to find some school districts with assessed valuations one hundred times greater than that on which others must forage to find educational subsistence. Children in the latter group of schools do not at present have a fair chance for a first-class, or even a second-class, education.

This fact brings up the issue of federal aid to impoverished school systems. If local means for support are exhausted and the program of the school remains totally inadequate, other income must be found. It is a challenge to democratic action to find funds, with only such controls as are needed to keep waste, malfeasance, or local politics from interfering with the proper use of such educational monies. Ideally this income should be obtained at the state level, but it seems likely that some federal equalization will be required too.

STANDARDS: FOR CHILDREN OR FOR ACHIEVEMENT? Even qualified teachers, and certainly many parents and other citizens, remain ambivalent and self-contradictory with regard to how the progress of children in school shall be evaluated. Frequently some mutually exclusive values are accepted as indicated in the dichotomy below:

---

[9] "Are You a Good Citizen?" *NEA Journal*, 39:612-614, November, 1950.

Educational Values Accepted by Many Teachers and Parents		*Antithetical Values Sometimes Accepted by the Same Teachers and Parents*
CHILD-ORIENTED		SUBJECT-ORIENTED
Children mature at different rates. Identical performance should not be expected of them; individuality should be prized.	*BUT*	There are minimum requirements which a child must master. If he doesn't the elementary school is defaulting to the taxpayer.
Children should be spared the stigmatizing experience of "flunking" or repeating a grade except under unusual circumstances.	*BUT*	"100% (continuous) promotion" is producing a "nation of Henry Aldriches." Without a carrot (promotion for good work) or a club (fear of failure), neither the gifted nor the slow maturing child is sufficiently motivated to study.
Parent-teacher conferences are an accurate means of reporting pupil progress.	*BUT*	A-B-C grades *really* let you know how Johnny is progressing; none of this "He-is-a-well-integrated-boy" stuff for me!
Because of the normal range in children's abilities, competition in the classroom is of questionable value. Besides, the child who needs it least receives the recognition in a competitive situation. Anyway, a job should be done for its own sake, not merely to beat someone else.	*BUT*	Competition is basic to free enterprise, to motivation. Schools are undermining free enterprise if they eliminate competition.
The best type of discipline is self-control. Children must experience a measure of freedom and self-direction in order to develop such control, even if some noise and disorder occasionally occur.	*BUT*	Miss Basilisk really knows how to control the children! They work every minute they're under her direction—and not a peep out of them.
Etc.		Etc.

The desire of certain parents and teachers to recognize simultaneously both child-oriented and subject-oriented values results in a kind of educational schizophrenia. A coherent educational program is one in which clear-cut, non-ambiguous values are reflected. It is high time, then, for elementary schools to decide what "good" education is, and to act accordingly. As an old saying has it, one must "either fish or cut bait." It's impossible to do both at the same time!

WHO SHALL DETERMINE THE CURRICULUM? During a period characterized by vocal, and often unreasonable, criticism of public education[10] school workers have become sensitive (and sometimes defensive) with regard to the educator's professional prerogative of curriculum planning. There is a need here to take a fresh view of the question, "Who shall determine the curriculum?"

This query probably cannot be answered intelligently until parents and teachers alike learn to distinguish between matters of *professional procedure* and matters of *policy*.[11] The nature and direction of social change and the matter of values which public education should work to achieve involve policy. No one group, such as the teaching profession, business, patriotic groups, or labor, should seek unilaterally to determine the values of the culture to be preserved and extended by the schools.

Policy making is a cooperative process—not without compromise—based upon decisions shared by all citizens, often through their elected or chosen representatives. Professional decisions, as with regard to educational methods and procedures, on the other hand, should be the prerogative of school workers save as the values of community interaction prompt teachers to invite the participation of parents and other residents.

This line of thought leads one to conclude that successful curriculum planning is a two-part process: (1) cooperative thinking and valuing by the community, of which teachers are a part; policy-making processes in which school workers share but which they do not dominate, and (2) the implementation of group decisions affecting the nature and quality of children's experiences. A good bit of tension and strife can be eliminated as the purposes of the curriculum are clarified by teachers and fair-minded community representatives, as these school-community purposes are reflected with fairness and integrity in the educational program, and through seeking and obtaining public approval and understanding in advance as public education increasingly includes "many aspects of the child's life not formerly considered the province of the school. . . ."[12]

---

[10] Cf. Chapter V (*passim*) and p. 220 ff. of Chapter IX.

[11] Cf. Woodring, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-31.

BEARING AND REARING CHILDREN. The importance of the general environment in the growth and development of children has been widely accepted by educators. Recognition and acceptance of the importance of the total "field" with which the child interacts[13] have contrived to create a problem for teachers. What can the school do to capitalize on—with some children—and to compensate for—with less fortunate children, the circumstances governing the bearing and rearing of the young?

The schools cannot and should not expect to control the total out-of-school life of the young, yet many forces in the home-street-neighborhood environment militate against achievement of the objectives teachers seek as they work with and for boys and girls. One answer to the problem seems to reside in greatly increased emphasis on parent education, perhaps beginning during the prenatal period, and paralleling elementary and secondary education. The creation of a really first-rate program for parents involves marshaling and coordinating resources beyond the walls of the school. Certainly those community agencies with professional staffs (welfare, mental hygiene, medical, and similar groups) need to be thoroughly involved.

The problem is a delicate one. Parents have a right to suspect or resent efforts to invade the privacy of the home or to dictate how they bring up their children. But irrespective of the complications in the challenge, there is a great role for educational leadership by teachers and associated workers—for example, in the family welfare field—in helping to insure that children's opportunities for self-realization are not thwarted.

Well-intentioned but ineffectual parents or the brutalizing or degrading experiences of out-of-school environments which breed delinquency are typical of educational concerns to be studied and remedied. The total nurture of the child is a concern of the school in the sense that the school cannot afford to provide for wholesome progress toward maturity within the classroom only to see this progress undone, like Penelope's tapestry, during the out-of-school hours of the child's existence.

---

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[13] Cf. Chapter III, pp. 35-36 for comments on field theory.

THOSE WHO TEACH. Of the many which might have been selected, a last representative problem to be considered is that of accelerating the rate at which the teaching profession is improving. Much professional literature has been devoted to the status of the elementary teacher since Lotus D. Coffman made his study of *The Social Composition of the Teaching Profession*[14] over forty years ago. And most of these writings were of no great credit to the teachers.

Especially since 1940 there has been a distinct advance in the social, emotional, physical, and professional qualities of those who teach boys and girls of elementary-school age.[15] At the same time a number of commonplace but none the less vital challenges remain. These include recruitment of promising young men and women who can become qualified teachers, finding means of upgrading personnel now on the job, and seeking an answer to the long-time dilemma of how to recognize meritorious work while avoiding the use of rating scales and similar subjective devices which purport to gauge the degree of teaching talent displayed in the classroom.

The first two items, recruitment and in-service education, are not particularly controversial. Procedures and policies in teacher appraisal, evaluation, or rating are highly controversial. There are those who maintain that other professions, in the process of growing toward high-level status, policed their ranks diligently, eliminated low-level schools, and increased standards of individual competence—for instance, through such means as state examinations for barristers and physicians.

On the other side of the coin there are arguments which point to the dangers in "policing" education in such arbitrary ways as will violate human and "intangible" values or replace democratic, psychologically sound *valuing* with machinery designed to gauge subject-matter acquisition or mere familiarity with educational theory, neither of which can reveal with certainty whether or not a candidate for a teaching position will be a good person to share the school living of youngsters. Since a profession cannot be better than its practitioners, the future of elementary education in the United

---

[14] Lotus D. Coffman, *The Social Composition of the Teaching Profession* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1911).

[15] Shane and McSwain, *op. cit.* Cf. Chapter XIV for a summary of research in the field of teacher status with emphasis on the improved quality of elementary-school personnel.

States will be influenced tremendously by the success with which philosophy and practice in teacher appraisal can be strengthened in the years ahead.

THE SCHOOLS WE SEEK

"America is a fabulous country, the only fabulous country," said Thomas Wolfe in *Of Time and the River.*[16] And he wrote of New England cider presses, the rioting colors of October, the "wailing whistle of the fast express," the tugboats as they bayed in the river, the "bright tatters of old circus posters," and "the immense and pungent smell of breakfast."

In his picturesque or biting verbal canvases, Wolfe paints the violence and promise, the contradictions and the strengths of a diversified American culture and environment which contain lone hunters and their dogs, frosty thickets, the clubs of Irish cops, the huge stillness of lone water towers, and track quivering to life with oncoming trains. He saw and wrote of shapely girls on ladders picking oranges, of immense and lonely reaches of earth; of "the soft numb spitting of the snow," "deadly little men with white faces," and "the dark and secret river, full of strange time . . . forever flowing to the sea."

The schools we seek are schools to meet and match the demographic-geographic American diversity Wolfe sensed and portrayed; schools which can reconcile differences of opinion while preserving and prizing differences in human personality; schools which satisfy the human needs of either the child growing to maturity beside the placidity of Lac Pend Oreille in the Idaho panhandle or the lad living on the second floor in a cold-water flat, twenty feet from the roar and grind of the elevated tracks running west from Chicago's Loop.

The schools we seek are those which can fulfill the belief of the late William Allen White that the people of our time can "think in new terms—new terms as citizens, new terms as nations, new terms as a modern remade world, in a new day and time."[17]

It is in creating more schools of which we can be proud that the challenge to the present can be met by elementary education and all education everywhere. May we have many more of them soon—those schools of which John Dewey wrote a generation ago—in which "education means the creation of a discriminating mind, a mind that prefers not to dupe itself or to be the dupe of others. . . . When this happens schools will be the . . . outposts of a humane civilization . . . [and] they will . . . be supremely interesting places."[18]

---

[16] Thomas Wolfe, *Of Time and the River* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935).

[17] William Allen White, quoted in *Time*, 41:80, March, 1943.

SUMMARY

The future challenges the present-day worker in elementary education successfully to meet old and new problems which are the products of years of uneven changes in American culture. Among them are clearheaded interpretations of democracy and the social goals they imply; better and more equal educational opportunity for all children; resolution of the old issue of standards (Shall they be for children or for achievement?); how to plan the curriculum more creatively and cooperatively; and how to strengthen the educational experiences of parents and teachers.

The schools we seek are those in which old problems are solved intelligently and in which teachers work, with a sense of cheerful dedication, to fulfill man's ancient dream of a better world for his children.

REFERENCES

COFFMAN, LOTUS D., *The Social Composition of the Teaching Profession*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1911.

DEWEY, JOHN, "Education as Politics," *The New Republic*, 32:141, October, 1922.

DRUCKER, PETER F., "The Myth of American Uniformity," *Harper's Magazine*, 204:70-77, May, 1952.

RUGG, HAROLD (ED.), *Democracy and the Curriculum*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1939.

SHANE, HAROLD G., AND MCSWAIN, E. T., *Evaluation and the Elementary Curriculum*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1951.

WOLFE, THOMAS, *Of Time and the River*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935.

WOODRING, PAUL, "An Open Letter to Teachers," *Harper's Magazine*, 205:29, July, 1952.

WORKING COMMITTEE ON CITIZENSHIP OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES, "Are You a Good Citizen?" *NEA Journal*, 39:612-614, November, 1950.

[18] John Dewey, "Education as Politics," *The New Republic*, 32:141, October, 1922.

APPENDIX

Chronology of Significant Developments in American Elementary Education[1]

1633-1952

The Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries

The Beginnings of Elementary Education in the United States

During the colonial period and in the early days of the new republic, American public education developed slowly but steadily, with first one locality and then another moving toward free education; with various European cultural and educational influences playing prominent roles; and with continual modifications and additions concomitant with changing social, political, and economic conditions. Early elementary-level instruction was religious in purpose and nature, a characteristic which lasted well into the nineteenth century and was reflected in the pervading moral tone of the curriculum.

The leaders in education were the political and religious leaders of the New World, those European philosophers whose ideas permeated the culture of the age, the scholars who wrote the early textbooks, and the many unidentified district and town leaders who were instrumental in founding the early schools.

Early colonial laws delegated selectmen in each colony to see that children learned to read and were given religious training. In the eighteenth century, state constitutions encouraged the establishment of schools, districts were given power to levy taxes, and the policy of granting land for school support was initiated.

The schools of the period reached, at first, only a small portion of the child population, but gradual expansion took place. Some of the best indications of early elementary-school curriculums are the textbooks of the period, around which much of the instruction centered. Education for participation in the life of the community continued to center in the home.

This appendix is organized so that the reader can trace the development of elementary education by centuries in terms of (1) contributions of educational leaders, (2) the influence of legislation, and (3) the role of experimental schools, educational experimentation, and curriculum innovations.

---

[1] This chronology was prepared by Charlotte Huck, Isabel Lewis, and Doris Young, Northwestern University.

Leadership Contributions

Seventeenth Century

John Locke (1632-1704), the English philosopher, found a place among classic writers on education. His *Thoughts on Education* contained many precepts reflected in today's educational philosophy. He stressed the theory that none of our ideas are "innate" and that the human mind, before any ideas are presented to it, is a *tabula rasa* or "blank slate." He held that information is subordinate to the formation of useful character, that mere accumulation of facts without exercise of thought or search for evidence is a cardinal vice. Locke's contemporary, John Amos Comenius (1592-1670), similarly anticipated many modern educational concepts in *The Great Didactic.*

Eighteenth Century

Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790) founded Franklin's Academy in Philadelphia, 1749. This later became the University of Pennsylvania. He wrote *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania.*

Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) led the reaction against artificial formalism in the education of children in France. The principles of his philosophy were set forth in *Emile*, a book on child study and children's characteristics, which has been called a declaration of childhood's rights.

Thomas Jefferson (1743-1826) sponsored in 1779 a bill separating church and state. He developed a plan to create "wards" five or six miles square, each to have a free elementary school. First rector of the University of Virginia, he urged higher education at public expense for the academically gifted.

Legislation

Seventeenth Century

1642 The earliest colonial law regarding education was passed in Massachusetts. Town officials were given "power to take account from time to time of parents and masters and of their children, especially of their ability to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country, and to impose fines on all those who refuse to render such accounts to them when required."

1647 The Massachusetts legislature, recognizing that "one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, [is] to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures . . . ," ordered that every town having fifty householders should appoint a teacher and provide for his wages, and that every town of one hundred families should provide a grammar school. A fine of five pounds was imposed if such schools were not established.

1650 Connecticut passed legislation similar to the Massachusetts law of 1647 and stated that children must be taught to read. Masters and fathers were required to catechize the children weekly and teach them some honest calling.

1665 The New York colony passed a law requiring constables to see that children were "brought up in some honest and Lawful Calling, Labour or Employment."

1677 A Plymouth Colony law stated that a township of more than fifty families must maintain a grammar school. Funds for this school were to be raised by a levy on all inhabitants, by voluntary gifts of parents, and by a levy on income from fishing.

1683 A Pennsylvania law directed that children be taught to read the Scriptures, to write by the age of twelve, and to carry on a useful trade.

1693 A Massachusetts law gave selectmen the power to levy taxes for the schools.

Eighteenth Century

1701 In Massachusetts the master of the grammar school was to be examined and certificated by the ministers of the town and the two adjoining towns.

1758 The Massachusetts Bay Poor Law protected apprentices. "Education in reading, writing, ciphering shall not be neglected." A law passed in 1790 stated that the poor should be taught free of charge.

1777 The Vermont constitution required each town to establish schools and pay the salaries of the teachers.

1784 New York established a Board of Regents to control and oversee secondary and higher education.

1787 The Northwest Ordinance reaffirmed the Ordinance of 1785 stating that "Schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." The sixteenth lot of each township of the Northwest Territory was reserved for the support of schools. Two townships were set apart for a university. The policy of land grants for schools was followed as new territories were opened in the West.

1789 A Massachusetts law legalized the practice which had gradually developed of having district schools maintained in a township.

Each district was granted the tax it raised to maintain its own school a few months each year.

1790 The Pennsylvania state constitution stated, "The legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law for the establishment of schools throughout the state, in such a manner that the poor may be taught gratis."

1792 Grants of funds to sectarian schools were forbidden by the New Hampshire constitution.

1795 The "Law for Encouragement of Schools" was passed in New York. This was the first attempt to establish schools throughout the state. An appropriation of twenty thousand pounds was to be paid the county treasurers in proportion to the population. Local authorities were to raise a sum equal to one-half the amount received, and the whole was to be used for salaries.

Schools, Curriculums, and Experimentation

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

1633 An elementary school was established by the Dutch in New York. One of the earliest-known American schools, it initiated public education in the colonies.

1651 The first recorded "dame school" was started in New Haven, Connecticut, setting a pattern for the education of young children for succeeding decades.

1691 *The New England Primer* was published in Boston. Used as the chief beginning reader for the next century, its religious and moral theme characterized the chief areas of emphasis of the elementary schools of this period. Hornbooks, psalters, and the Bible continued to be used as materials of instruction for the next century, but the *Primer* formed the backbone of much early education. It was followed and supplemented during the next 150 years by other textbooks, which were used so extensively that schools tended to be so organized as to teach the materials contained in them. These books became the nucleus of the elementary-school curriculum in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Some of the more significant were:

- 1740—*Dilworth's New Guide to the English Tongue* contained word lists plus the catechism and prayers.
- 1783—Noah Webster's *Blue Backed Speller* was used widely until the end of the next century. It tended to simplify and standardize spelling, broke with British English, and popularized the spelling bee.
- 1785—Webster's *Third Part*, of the series of texts of which the *Speller* was the first, was the first American secular reader.

1789—Jedediah Morse's *American Universal Geography* was the first American geography.

1793—Nicholas Pike's *Arithmetic* and

1796—Root's *Introduction to Arithmetic* were two of the first arithmetic texts.

1821—Warren Colburn's *First Lessons in Arithmetic on the Plan of Pestalozzi* emphasized acquiring number ideas through the use of objects and acknowledged Pestalozzian influence.

1834—William H. McGuffey's *Eclectic Readers* were introduced. They were used so widely up to 1900 as to be almost synonymous with elementary education in the past century.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Formative Years

Out of the colonial schools began to evolve the public elementary school, modeled after first one imported pattern and then another. Yet childhood education was shaped throughout by qualities peculiar to the American scene. Concomitant with the growth of the elementary schools were the equally important development of teacher-education institutions, the beginnings of experimentation in school and curricular design, and changes in the kind and quality of educational offerings.

Toward the end of the century, proponents of the new science of psychology set in motion the scientific movement which was to be of importance in the subsequent growth of the elementary school. In positions of prominence, also, were the administrators who devised plans of school organization and curriculums and who were instrumental in founding the various experimental and laboratory schools.

Legislation in this century was mainly concerned with the establishment of free schools, especially for poor children. District organization was established and state taxation was increased. Compulsory attendance laws were passed in the latter part of the period.

In school organization and curriculums, patterns of mass education and chronological grade groupings were established in many cities and towns by 1850. During the last half of the century, various subjects were added to the curriculum, with retention of those already well entrenched. Learning and instruction became increasingly formalized, with pronounced emphasis upon verbal rather than upon firsthand experiences.

Leadership Contributions

1781 *Johann Pestalozzi* (1746-1827) was born in Switzerland. In his book, *Leonard and Gertrude*, published in 1781, he stated that the aim of education was the natural and systematic development of all the powers of the individual. Unlike Rousseau, whom he admired, Pestalozzi put his theories into practice. He operated several "experimental" schools and led the movement for object teaching and oral instruction. His Yverdun and Burgdorf schools were most famous.

1817 *Frederick Froebel* (1782-1852) was the "father of the kindergarten"—a term he coined in 1840. He established a school at Keilhau in 1817, in which he followed "the principle of cultivating the self-activity of the pupil by connecting manual labor with every study." It was here that he wrote his *Education of Man* in 1826. The best-known kindergarten founded by Froebel was at Blankenburg.

1830—*Johann Herbart* (1776-1841) influenced both philosophy and education. He taught that character is the main aim of education, and that education has its real beginning in knowledge and its final end in action. He emphasized the correlation of history and literature and was one of the first educators to suggest a scientific approach to the study of education. In his methodology, he developed five formal steps: preparation, presentation, comparison, generalization, and application.

1823 and 1829 *Samuel R. Hall* established the first regular teacher-training school in America in 1823 at Concord, Vermont, and published the first teacher-education treatise written in the United States, entitled *Lectures on School Keeping* (1829).

Official Reports on European Schools—1819-1843

1819—John Griscom published *A Year in Europe*—a description of the schools of various countries, and especially the schools and work of Pestalozzi.

1835—Victor Cousin's translation of *Report on the State of Public Instruction in Prussia* was widely known. The influence of this volume on the new constitution of Michigan was of great importance.

1837—Calvin E. Stowe published his *Report on Elementary Education in Europe*. This report was made to the Ohio legislature and also distributed in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Michigan, Virginia.

1843—Horace Mann embodied the results of his observations of the Prussian eight-year *Volksschule* (common school) in his famous *Seventh Annual Report* to the Massachusetts Board of Education.

The results of these many reports did much to pave the way for American acceptance of a graded school taught by capable teachers.

1834 *Bronson Alcott* (1799-1888) designed comfortable school furniture as part of his recognition of the importance of pleasant learning environments. He developed an early experimental school in Connecticut. In 1834 he opened Temple School in Boston where he emphasized his conversational method of teaching. Pupils were introduced to social control through self-government by classmates. In later years he was criticized for nonsegregated education and similar practices "too modern" for his day.

1835 *Elizabeth Palmer Peabody* (1804-1894) wrote *Record of a School* (1835), which described Alcott's methods in conversational teaching at Temple School. She wrote other books on early childhood education, began the first English-language kindergarten in 1860, and established the first free kindergarten in 1870 (Boston).

1837 *Horace Mann* (1796-1859), the "father of American public education," served as Secretary of the Massachusetts State Board of Education from 1837 to 1848 and initiated the "common-school revival." He rebuilt schools, fought corporal punishment, and urged enrichment of the curriculum through music, hygiene, and drawing. Through his efforts, the first American state normal school was opened at Lexington, Massachusetts, followed by another at Barre the same year, and a third at Bridgewater in 1840. He was the first president of coeducational Antioch College.

1838 *Henry Barnard* (1811-1900) served as state commissioner of education in Connecticut from 1838 to 1842 and in Rhode Island from 1843 to 1849. He promoted Pestalozzi's ideas in America by writing *Pestalozzi and Pestalozzianism*. From 1855 to 1881 he edited the *American Journal of Education*, which treated almost every phase of education here and abroad. He sponsored the first teachers' institute in 1839 and improved the training and supervision of elementary teachers. As the first United States Commissioner of Education (1867), he advocated the establishment of kindergartens and the improvement of elementary education.

1844 *David P. Page* (1810-1848) served as principal of New York's first State Normal School in Albany from 1844 until his early death in 1848. His book, *Theory and Practice of Teaching*, published in 1847, became a standard reference work for teacher education during the next fifty years.

1859 *Charles Robert Darwin* (1809-1882), English naturalist, was the author of *The Origin of Species* (1859). His theory of evolution had widespread influence upon the philosophy of education.

1860 *Herbert Spencer* (1820-1903), English philosopher and friend of Darwin, published a work entitled *Education: Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*. The first chapter of this work sought to determine "what knowledge is of most worth." Spencer maintained that the most important field of knowledge, the one which would best prepare man for complete living, was science. The influence of his philosophy did much to change educational studies and methods in Great Britain and America.

1867 *William T. Harris* (1835-1909), a major figure in public education, served thirteen years, beginning in 1867, as superintendent of schools in St. Louis, where the program was acclaimed as one of the best in the United States. He was elected president of the National Education Association in 1875 and served seventeen years as United States Commissioner of Education. A noted thinker and philosopher, he wrote over 500 books and articles.

1875 *Colonel Francis Parker* (1837-1902) served from 1875 to 1880 as superintendent of schools in Quincy, Massachusetts, under the trusteeship and encouragement of Charles Francis Adams, an opponent of the doctrine of mental discipline. The Quincy schools "came alive," in sharp contrast to the formal education of the period. Firsthand and meaningful learning was emphasized through activity, functional learning of skill subjects, and teacher participation in curriculum planning and reorganization. Parker did important work as principal of the Cook County Normal School at Chicago and later as principal of the Chicago Institute, afterward the School of Education of the University of Chicago. The Cook County Normal School became a center of educational change. Colonel Parker's writings include *Talks to Teachers, Talks to Pedagogues, How to Study Geography*, and *Course in Arithmetic*.

1879 *Wilhelm Wundt* (1832-1920) established the first recognized psychological laboratory at Leipzig, Germany, marking the beginning of experimental psychology. Developments in this new science were to be of tremendous significance in the growth of elementary education. Americans such as Hall, Cattell, and Thorndike, who studied with Wundt, were instrumental in the development of schools of psychology in this country and spearheaded the scientific movement.

1883 *G. Stanley Hall* (1846-1924) undertook in 1883 the study of education by methods borrowed from psychology. During that year he published *The Contents of Children's Minds on Entering School*. He initiated the child study movement, and later worked toward the establishment of a scientific basis for education. His chief work was a treatise entitled *Adolescence*, in which he pointed out the psychological needs of youth and emphasized the recapitulation theory.

1885 *H. Ebbinghaus* published, in Germany, an account of an experiment on memory, using objective data. It was important as one of the first experiments concerned with the nature of the learning process.

1889 *Charles De Garmo* and *Charles* and *Frank McMurry*, disciples of Herbart, did much to spread his methods in this country through their writings. In 1889 De Garmo published *Essentials of Method* and in 1895 *Herbart and the Herbartians*. The McMurrys published *The Method of Recitation* in 1892. The National Society for the Study of Education was founded in 1895 as the National Herbart Society under the leadership of these men.

1890 to 1900 This decade was a period of great activity in the new science of psychology. Organizations were established, new techniques in tests and measurements were used, research and experimentation in human behavior advanced, and the psychological laboratories at Clark, Columbia, and Harvard universities became active. The effect on educational theory and practice was immediate and far reaching, particularly affecting method and curriculum. *James McKeen Cattell* pioneered during this decade in devising tests of mental ability for gauging individual differences.

1891 *William James* published *Principles of Psychology*, describing a new psychology (opposed to the old faculty psychology) in which the influence of biological science was strong. Later, his *Talks to Teachers* emphasized the importance of education through activity.

1897 *J. M. Rice*, in an article entitled "The Futility of the Spelling Grind" in *Forum Magazine*, pointed out the necessity for scientific testing of school results. In 1901 he published a similar article on the results secured with tests in arithmetic.

1897 *Adolf Meyer*, eminent American psychiatrist, contributed to the *American Journal of Insanity* a statement of his new organismic psychology, the basis of which was in the unity of the development of the human organism—a forerunner of the "whole child" approach of twentieth-century education.

1898 *Edward Lee Thorndike* published *Animal Intelligence: An Experimental Study of the Association Processes in Animals*. This marked the beginning of the American associationist or connectionist school of psychology, which had special significance for education in its emphasis upon the importance of method and of practice. Thorndike discredited the doctrine of mental discipline, minimized transfer of training, and formulated the laws of exercise and effect. He later contributed to education in his studies on the nature and measurement of intelligence and on the influence of heredity and environment on human development.

Legislation

1800 School districts in Massachusetts were given the right to hold meetings, determine building sites, and tax themselves for all school purposes.

1802 to 1809 Pennsylvania pauper school laws provided that free education would be provided for children of the poor if the parents would declare themselves paupers. The teacher was to be paid 2½¢ per day for instructing each child so named to the assessor.

1812 New York established a policy of state aid. Each district was required to levy a tax to equal the amount received from the state. The rate-bill system was also established. Under this plan local school officers were required to admit all indigent children free of tuition and levy the cost of their instruction on the parents who were able to pay. This was in effect until 1867.

1816 Indiana's constitution was the first to provide for free schools for all. "It shall be the duty of the General Assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a state university wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all."

1817 Delaware began a system of subsidizing the education of the poor. Each county was to receive $1000 per annum for education of the poor.

1821 New Jersey made it permissive to pay tuition of poor children, but the law was largely nullified by disuse.

1826 A permissive law allowed Baltimore to organize a system of public schools.

1826 Massachusetts required every town to appoint a school committee to have general charge of the local schools, to select textbooks, and to examine and certify teachers.

1827 Children in all grades could attend school tuition-free according to a Massachusetts law.

1834 The Pennsylvania Free School Law made complete provisions for a state common-school fund and its distribution through local district organization. Schools were to be free to all, and inspectors were to supervise the common schools.

1834 The first public appropriation for the education of teachers was made by the New York legislature. One academy in each of the eight judicial districts was given state support for this purpose.

1837 A state board of education was established by the Massachusetts legislature.

1840 The Massachusetts legislature appropriated $2500 annually for teachers' institutes—the first legislative action concerned with in-service education.

1847 The Akron Law passed by the Ohio legislature became the model for Ohio and for cities in other states. Akron was incorporated as one school district with an elective six-member board of education independent of the city council.

1851 The New York Free Schools Act provided for a state tax for the support of the common schools, for a continuation of subsidy from state funds, and for town taxes, but the rate bills were retained to meet any deficit.

1852 The first compulsory school attendance law was passed by the Massachusetts legislature. All children between the ages of eight and fourteen were required to attend school twelve weeks each year.

1867 Congress created a National Department of Education.

1870 The Department of Education became the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior.

1895 Massachusetts established the first public normal school.

Schools, Curriculums, and Experimentation

1786 to 1824 Sunday schools were started in many towns in the East and were designed to teach children of the poorer classes the rudiments of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Modeled after those in England, they gradually gave up their secular educational functions and became almost entirely religious in nature.

1800 to 1825 School societies were organized in many eastern cities, the most famous being the Dewitt Clinton Society in New York. Philanthropic and charitable in form, they, too, gave way to public schools. In some instances buildings, materials, and funds were turned over to the local governments to aid in the establishment of free public schools.

1800 to 1840 During this period the "infant school" influence was strong. Imported from England and popularized by Robert Owen, among others, it formed a pattern for early elementary education.

1806 to 1830 The monitorial or Lancasterian schools, developed in England by Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell, encouraged mass education in this country. Particularly in private schools of the period, the use of older pupils as monitors under a head teacher made possible the supervision of large groups of pupils by a small staff. While the system itself was not used extensively, it did influence urban elementary schools to organize large graded groups of pupils.

1816 Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet opened a school for the deaf in Connecticut on a $5000 grant from the legislature. This set a pattern for state support of the education of the handicapped.

1823 The first normal school in the United States was organized at Concord, Vermont, by the Reverend Samuel R. Hall. A private school, it had a three-year curriculum similar in organization to the curriculums of the academies of the time, but it offered methods courses and student teaching to prepare teachers for the common schools. The precursor of modern teacher-education institutions, it set the pattern for many established in the next fifty years.

1837 The first professional Department of Education in a university was established at the University of Iowa, constituting another step forward in teacher education.

1838 The first state normal school for training common-school teachers was created in Massachusetts. Horace Mann was largely responsible for its establishment, at Lexington, and saw it as a necessary part of reforms in education.

1847 The Quincy Grammar School in Boston was opened, setting the pattern for an urban, centralized school with organized, graded classes for instruction. The type of building also served as a model for many other elementary schools in the next half-century.

1848 to 1861 Edward A. Sheldon organized the Orphan and Free School Association in Oswego, New York, to provide free education for children of the poor. In 1853 a free city public-school system was established, absorbing the former school association. Sheldon, as secretary, worked out courses of study emphasizing the religious aims of education and the use of audio-visual teaching aids. This program was perhaps the first system-wide experiment in the U.S.

In 1861, Sheldon established the Oswego Primary Teachers Training School, which was very influential in spreading the ideas of Pestalozzi.

1856 The first kindergarten in America was founded in Watertown, Wisconsin, by Mrs. Carl Schurz. German-speaking, and patterned closely after the ideas of Froebel, it marked the beginning of early childhood education in this country.

1860 The first English-speaking kindergarten in America was organized by Elizabeth Peabody in Boston.

1866 Arnold Guyot published a series of geography texts and a manual, *Geographical Teaching*. Emphasizing the importance of a knowledge of home geography, it influenced the development of the social studies area of the elementary-school curriculum.

1873 In St. Louis, Susan Blow succeeded in opening the first permanent kindergarten under the auspices of a public school. This was the first concrete acknowledgment of the responsibility of the schools for the formative early years of childhood.

1879 The first college chair devoted exclusively to education was established at the University of Michigan.

1887 On September 12 of this year, the "model school," later to be known as the Horace Mann School, opened on the same day as Teachers College in New York City. It served as a demonstration and a practice school. The influence of this school has been far reaching. Its work in curriculum construction changed practices in the public schools, and many teachers were introduced to more effective teaching procedures through visits to the school.

1888 to 1894 Preston Search, superintendent of schools in Pueblo, Colorado, developed the unit plan of curriculum organization which was adopted in the schools of Portland, Oregon, Santa Barbara, Cambridge, and St. Louis. This was one of the first attempts to break away from the traditional isolated subjects organization.

1893 The Northwestern University Settlement House, in Chicago, became the first such institution to include a kindergarten in its program. Throughout the next half-century and more, the area of preschool education was one in which social institutions other than the school assumed responsibility.

1895 The Cook County Normal School in Chicago published what was probably the first course of study based upon correlation and school-community interaction, initiating a trend which was to become stronger in the next several decades.

1896 The Dewey Laboratory School was founded and, upon merger in 1900 with the Chicago Institute and the Chicago Manual Training School, became the Laboratory School of the University of Chicago. Publication of the *Elementary School Record* brought the work of Dewey and of Parker at the University of Chicago before the eye of the public.

1899 The Speyer School of Teachers College was founded. One of the first experimental and teacher-training schools, it was intended to promote research and investigation in the field of public education. The curriculum was divided into broad areas of learning—a departure from the isolated subject-matter curriculums of the past century. The fundamental aim of the school was social efficiency, and thus it was one of the first community schools.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

New Directions

Certain forces and movements which had their origins in the nineteenth century took definite form and gained in scope and significance during the next century. Among these were the scientific movement, which began in the teachings and research work of the early psychologists; the study of child development, which had its origins in psychology, physiology, and biology; and the New Education, with its dual emphasis on better school living and an improved society.

Leadership Contributions: 1900-1920

An arbitrary division in point of time is made in this area of leadership contributions. The first twenty years of the century saw the growth of many new movements in education and in psychology—movements which formed the basis for much that is current today in elementary education. Some of the many leaders responsible for this growth are represented here by characteristic published works. Others are identified with specific places and programs in which they exerted influence.

John Dewey (1859-1952) was a leading American educational philosopher and molder of the policies of the elementary school. In 1896 he established an experimental school at the University of Chicago, where he tried out some of his educational theories. In 1904 he joined the faculty of Teachers College, Columbia University, where he taught and influenced thousands of teachers. Among his publications are: *School and Society*, *Interest and Effort in Education*, *Democracy and Education*, *How We Think*, *Quest for Certainty*, and *Experience and Education*. His philosophy has had enormous influence on educational thought and practice in the twentieth century.

1905 The publication by *Alfred Binet* of the first of his scales for the measurement of intelligence marked an increase in activity in testing, an important part of the scientific movement in education. Within the next decade, other contributions in this field were:

1905—The first series of Binet-Simon tests.
1907—The Pintner-Patterson Performance Scale.

Other educational psychologists made further progress:

1908—Harvey Goddard applied the Binet-Simon Scale to the testing of subnormal children.
1910—E. L. Thorndike devised a handwriting scale.
1912—Louis Terman exerted leadership in education psychology for many years; revised, with Childs, the Binet-Simon Scale.

1915—Leonard P. Ayres published a spelling scale.

1904 *James Rowland Angell*, psychologist and noted educational administrator, published *Psychology, an Introductory Study of the Structure and Function of Human Consciousness*. With Dewey, Angell was a member of what was known as the "Chicago school of functionalism." The principles set forth in Angell's book—that psychology should be of practical use, that experience was of great importance in education, and that purpose and function played important roles in behavior—were characteristic of this school and formed a basis for progressive education and the activity movement.

1912 Gestalt psychology was first interpreted by *Max Wertheimer* in *Experimental Studies on the Seeing of Motion* (an account of an experiment he conducted in his Frankfurt, Germany, laboratory with Kurt Koffka and Wolfgang Kohler). The basic principle of the new psychology was that behavior is not governed by stimuli but by an organismic field of interacting forces. In the new psychology, American educators of the 1920's found scientific support for newer educational practices.

1912 to 1914 *John B. Watson* published books and articles on behaviorism, the school of psychology which he founded. A marked influence was exerted on educational and child-care practices, particularly in the 1920's, by the behaviorists' conditioned response theory of learning, and by the school's strong emphasis on environmental as opposed to hereditary factors in human development.

1914 At about this period *Sigmund Freud*, Viennese psychoanalyst, began to voice his principles of personality development and behavior motivation which influenced all of the social sciences. In particular, the mental hygiene movement of the post-World War II years stemmed in part from Freud's teachings.

1918 William Heard Kilpatrick's book, *The Project Method*, appeared, giving impetus to newer educational trends. His later books, among which were *Foundations of Method* and *Source Book of Philosophy*, provided further clarification of the philosophical bases of progressive education. As a professor of education at Columbia University, as well as through his publications, Kilpatrick has been of great influence as an interpreter and advocate of progressive education.

Leadership Contributions: 1920-1952

From 1920 on, leadership contributions by professional educators become difficult to select. Not only are they numerous, but the influence of leaders in related disciplines has played an increasingly important role in shaping elementary education. The few leaders mentioned below exemplify rather than inventory the contributions which are being made.[2]

1924 *Franklin Bobbitt*, in *The Curriculum*, provided impetus for the movement toward scientific curriculum building.

1927 and 1929 *Boyd H. Bode* published *Modern Educational Theories* (1927), followed by *Conflicting Psychologies of Learning*, later revised as *How We Learn*, and other influential works. An independent thinker, he described the reorganization of experience as the basis of purposive learning.

1928 *The Child-Centered School*, by *Harold Rugg* and *Ann Shumaker*, emphasized the importance of freedom and of the individual child's interests and needs. Misinterpretations of the position taken by the authors and by other leaders in progressive education resulted in undue ridicule of the trend toward freedom and flexibility in the elementary school. Rugg is considered a leader of liberal thinkers in education.

1929 In *Curriculum Construction*, research-minded *W. W. Charters* applied to educational problems the job-analysis technique in which he had pioneered in the early 1920's.

1931 *Henry W. Morrison's* book, *The Practice of Teaching in the Elementary School*, represented the viewpoint of the essentialists in education. Advocates of subject-matter mastery, these educators reacted against many of the doctrines of progressive education.

1932 In *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?*, a provocative little book, *George S. Counts* spearheaded the social reconstruction movement. Considering the child-in-society as the concern of the schools, the social reconstructionists hold that the schools have an obligation to exert leadership in social change, rather than to continue to carry out a passive role. Counts' views are not universally accepted, but social aims have become a part of educational planning.

1937 *J. R. McGaughy*, in *An Evaluation of the Elementary School*, encouraged a critical appraisal of purposes, techniques, and accomplishments.

In the next decade, evaluation became an important movement in education.

1938 Daniel Prescott typified, in *Emotion and the Educative Process*, another movement of consequence—mental hygiene. Having its origin in the work of psychiatrists and psychologists from Freud on, this has become today a chief area of concern to educators.

---

[2] The contributions of specialists in subject-matter areas are of equal importance, and are omitted here only because their great number makes it difficult to single out a few for specific comment.

1939 One of the directions taken by elementary education in the realization of social aims has been toward community schools. In *Community Schools in Action*, for example, *Elsie Clapp* described the cooperation basic to the movement.

1945 Illustrative of characteristic trends of the last decade is the book *Helping Teachers Understand Children*, an American Council on Education publication. It symbolizes the general interest of educators in the child-study approach to educational planning and practice and describes an effective in-service education program.

Leadership Contributions from Related Fields: 1920-1952

From the related disciplines of anthropology, psychology, and sociology have come many significant contributions to the development of elementary education. Some typical publications reflecting significant research and theory in these fields follow.

1920 *Carl Jung*'s *Collected Papers on Analytical Psychology* typifies his influential publications, the principles of which are used by many psychologists and therapists in work with children.

1926 *Jean Piaget*, in *The Language and Thought of the Child*, and in his later writings, was a pioneer in making inquiry into the development of concepts and reasoning.

1928 *Margaret Mead* published *Coming of Age in Samoa*. With her later works, such as *Growing Up in New Guinea* (1930) and *And Keep Your Powder Dry* (1942), this book helped to clarify the influence of cultural patterns upon development.

1929 *George E. Coghill*'s *Anatomy and the Problem of Behavior* stressed the physiological bases of development and emphasized the unity of the growing organism.

1929 In *Middletown* and *Middletown in Transition* (1933), Robert and Helen Lynd portrayed the complexities of cultural patterns and mores in an American community.

1930 *Alfred Adler's Problems of Neurosis* emphasized the drive to achieve a feeling of superiority as basic in human behavior.

1934 *Ruth Benedict*'s *Patterns of Culture* added to the growing body of knowledge relative to the impact of cultural expectations upon child growth.

1934 *J. L. Moreno*, in the monograph *Who Shall Survive: A New Approach to the Problem of Human Interrelations*, interpreted mental health and presented the concept of sociometry.

1925 and 1935 *Wolfgang Kohler* in *The Mentality of Apes* (1925) and *Kurt Koffka* in *Principles of Gestalt Psychology* (1935) disseminated the Gestaltist concepts.

1935 *Kurt Lewin*, in *A Dynamic Theory of Personality*, developed field psychology, related to Gestalt theory, and stressed the dynamics of interaction and development. Later he gave leadership to the important movement of group dynamics and processes.

1937 *Gordon Allport*, in *Personality, A Psychological Interpretation*, emphasized the importance of all environmental forces upon the individual and stressed the wholeness of the child.

1938 to 1942 *Karl Menninger*'s *Man Against Himself* and *Love Against Hate* furthered the understanding of behavior.

1940 *Arthur Jersild*'s book, *Child Psychology*, and his later studies of children's interests and motivations, as well as his work on curriculum implications, provided leadership in interpreting the psychological bases of elementary education.

1941 to 1949 Further attention was directed to inequality of opportunity and to problems of social class by several books published in this period: *Allison Davis, B. Burleigh, and Mary R. Gardner—Deep South, A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class* (1941); *W. Lloyd Warner*, *Robert Havighurst*, and *Martin B. Loeb—Who Shall Be Educated?* (1944); *Allison Davis* and *Robert Havighurst—Father of the Man* (1947); and *H. B. Hollingshead—Elmtown's Youth* (1949).

1943 The publication by *Arnold Gesell* and *Frances Ilg* of *Infant and Child in the Culture of Today* and the subsequent *Child from Five to Ten* came mid-point in the series of influential contributions by Gesell and his co-workers, Ilg, Armatruda, Learned, Ames, and Thompson, to the field of child development.

1943 *Helen Hall Jennings*, in *Leadership and Isolation*, described experimental work in sociometric measurement and the interactions between individuals and groups.

1948 *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture*, edited by *Clyde Kluckhohn* and *Henry A. Murray*, brought together the results of research and concept development upon the growth of the personality.

1950 *Robert Havighurst*'s pamphlet, *Developmental Tasks and Education*, set forth a concept of behavior development which stressed cultural pressures and expectations and which also emphasized the continuous nature of adjustment.

1950 *Willard Olson*'s book, *Child Development*, centered around a concept of significance to education—that of organismic age. The emphasis upon varying rates of growth within and among individuals implies curriculum and method reevaluation in many areas.

Legislation

While most of the legislation since 1900 has not been uniquely concerned with elementary education, several measures are of interest because of indirect influence upon the elementary school, or because of precedent-establishing factors.

1911 The Marine School Act introduced the principle of matching federal funds from state treasuries.

1930's During the depression, the National Youth Administration (NYA) enabled students, including many prospective teachers, to continue their education. Under the WPA and FERA programs, government funds were appropriated for renovating schools. Some direct grants were made to school districts in especially depressed areas. The hot-lunch program was also developed during this period.

1941 The Lanham Act provided for the care of children of working mothers, and, as a result, a large number of nursery schools and child-care centers were opened throughout the country.

Throughout the period, teacher certification standards were raised by legislative action of most of the states. By the end of the 1940's, a number of state governments had enacted tenure and minimum-salary laws. Compulsory state retirement benefits were common.

Schools, Curriculums, and Experimentation

1901 The Francis W. Parker School was opened. Under the direction of Flora J. Cooke, the philosophy of Colonel Parker was realized in actuality. Emphasis upon the motivation, needs, and growth of the child and concern for character building and intelligent citizenship were the aims in education of Parker School. The project approach was used here even before it had a name.

1904 The Elementary School at the University of Missouri was established, with a plan of work which abandoned the conventional curriculum and developed methods of teaching required to make child needs and growth the dominant purpose of the school. The school was organized by J. L. Meriam on a non-subject basis, utilizing large blocks of time in preference to shorter periods. This was the first of the experimental programs to devise a completely new curriculum rather than to revise an old subject-matter one. The McDonald County Experimental School in Missouri was an outgrowth of Meriam's ideas as interpreted by Superintendent Ellsworth Collings. See "1917" below.

1908 William A. Wirt became superintendent in Bluffton, Indiana. There, and later in Gary, he developed the platoon system of elementary-school organization.

1909 The first White House Conference on Children and Youth was held, and led to the formation of the Children's Bureau in the Department of Labor. Subsequent conferences held in 1919, 1929, 1939, 1944, and 1951 have served to encourage cooperation among individuals and agencies concerned in child welfare, and to give impetus to needed reform movements.

1914 The City and Country School, originally called a "Play School," was established by Caroline Pratt. Miss Pratt helped to establish the importance of play in the child's learning and to demonstrate the value of concrete experiences.

1912 to 1915 The first modern school survey reports appeared, based upon surveys undertaken in Baltimore, Cleveland, Portland, and Salt Lake City and initiating what was to become an important movement in elementary as well as secondary education.

1913 A kindergarten division was established in the United Office of Education, an innovation which was symptomatic of the current growth in status of early childhood education.

1917 The Lincoln School of Teachers College, Columbia University, was founded, and began its period of service as a prototype of other experimental centers and as a center for scientific curriculum construction. Unit and project studies developed here were distributed widely throughout the country.

1917 In the McDonald County, Missouri, Experimental School, Ellsworth Collings directed one of the first attempts at a scientifically controlled experiment for the elementary-school curriculum as a whole. Results showed the children in the experimental program to excel in academic achievement. The development of more favorable attitudes of parents and children toward school was also noted.

1919 Carleton Washburne initiated the Winnetka Plan for providing for individual differences. As applied in the public elementary schools of Winnetka, Illinois, the plan emphasized individualized academic work and group socializing activities. Literature produced in connection with this program did much to help educators realize the folly of expecting all children to do the same thing at the same time. Winnetka also produced much that was worth while in scientific and practical curriculum research. The work was doubly significant in that teachers were major participants.

1920 The Dalton Laboratory Plan was introduced into the high school of Dalton, Massachusetts. It had first been tried by Helen Parkhurst with an ungraded group of physically handicapped children. It was important as another early attempt to provide for individual differences in education.

1922 The Los Angeles program of curriculum improvement was instituted, with Franklin Bobbitt as consultant. The program involved the whole curriculum, the participation of many teachers, the use of committees, and the utilization of the services of specialists as consultants. It heralded the beginning of the modern curriculum movement.

Within the next three decades many other cities and towns entered upon curriculum improvement programs. Some of the most significant were:

Denver, Colorado, in which a cooperative study of the curriculum resulted in city-wide revisions. Courses of study in the subject areas, developed under the leadership of Jesse Newlon in the 1920's, were widely used.

Detroit, Michigan, which adopted the platoon system in the 1930's under the leadership of Wirt and, in the late 1940's, pioneered in a citizenship study in the intercultural education movement.

Battle Creek, Michigan, which was one of the first communities to experiment with a school camping program and which also did much in cooperative curriculum development.

Springfield, Massachusetts, which, in the 1940's, pioneered in a community-school project to foster democratic living.

Glencoe, Illinois, in which social education, community relationships, and an extended school year for teachers have been emphasized.

New York City, which undertook a scientific evaluation of educational policies and practices.

1932 Virginia started, in 1932, the first large-scale study program for curriculum improvement, and continued leadership in setting up courses of study in core and activity teaching.

1936 The first workshop for curriculum planning and improvement was held in the summer of 1936 at the Ohio State University, as a part of the Eight-Year Study. The workshop was significant in that it started what was to become one of the most popular and effective means of cooperative school planning. It continued the trend started earlier in such communities as Los Angeles, Winnetka, and Denver toward teacher participation in the formulation of school policies and in curriculum improvement, which has been one of the most important of the last thirty years.

1935 to 1942 The Eight-Year Study, the first large-scale study of progressive practices, was undertaken under the leadership of the Commission on the Relation of Schools and Colleges of the Progressive Education Association. While the cooperating schools were all secondary, the influence on elementary education was great. The study publicized new methods of teaching, initiated new techniques in cooperative endeavor, and gave rise to much important work in the areas of evaluation.

REFERENCES

BUTTS, R. FREEMAN, *A Cultural History of Education*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1929.

CASWELL, HOLLIS L., AND OTHERS, *Curriculum Improvement in Public School Systems*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1950.

CUBBERLEY, ELLWOOD P., *The History of Education*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920.

DE YOUNG, CHRIS A., *Introduction to American Public Education*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1942.

DOUGLASS, HARL R., AND CAHN, GRIEDER, *American Public Education*. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948.

EBY, FREDERICK, AND ARROWOOD, CHARLES F., *The Development of Modern Education*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1935.

KNIGHT, EDGAR, *Education in the United States*. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1929.

MEYER, ADOLPH (ed.), *The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939.

MONROE, WALTER S., *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950.

NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF EDUCATION, Twenty-Sixth Yearbook, Part I. *Curriculum-Making: Past and Present*. Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1926.

PAINTER, F. V. N., *A History of Education*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1912.

PARKER, SAMUEL CHESTER, *A Textbook in the History of Modern Elementary Education*. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1912.

REISNER, EDWARD H., *The Evolution of the Common School*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935.

SHANE, HAROLD G., "Syllabus for Basic Course in Elementary Education." Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, 1950. (Mimeographed)

SHANE, HAROLD G., AND MCSWAIN, E. T., *Evaluation and the Elementary Curriculum*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952.

WOODWORTH, ROBERT S., *Contemporary Schools of Psychology*. New York: The Ronald Press Company, rev. ed., 1948.

Index of Names

Abelson, Harold H., 268
Adams, John Quincy, 166
Adams, Samuel, 160
Adler, Alfred, 413
Alcott, Bronson, 403
Aldrich, Charles Anderson, 64
Alexander, F., 63*n*
Alger, Horatio, 3
Allport, Gordon, 414
Anderson, Archibald, 126
Anderson, H. H., 64
Anderson, John E., 58
Angell, James Rowland, 411
Ayres, Leonard P., 411

Barker, R. G., 298*n*, 306
Barnard, Henry, 132, 403
Barr, James B., 326*n*
Bathurst, Effie, 303
Baxter, Bernice, 126*n*
Bell, Andrew, 407
Benedict, Ruth, 66, 296*n*, 413
Benné, Kenneth D., 143
Bennett, Susan S., 341*n*
Binet, Alfred, 410
Birch, Raymond, 307
Blos, Peter, 69
Blow, Susan, 409
Boas, Franz, 66
Bobbitt, Franklin, 412, 417
Bode, Boyd H., 10, 259, 320, 333, 412
Boder, B. B., 67
Brandt, H. F., 64
Brim, Orville G., 321*n*
Brown, F. J., 344*n*
Brubacher, John S., 139-140
Buhler, Charlotte, 374
Bulfinch, Charles, 161-163
Burleigh, B., 414
Butts, R. Freeman, 255, 289-290, 292
Cannon, W. B., 65
Carmichael, Leonard, 63
Caswell, Hollis, 33, 140*n*
Cattell, James McKeen, 314, 405
Charters, W. W., 412
Chase, Stuart, 94, 212, 366*n*
Childs, John L., 259
Clapp, Elsie, 413
Clark, K. B., 64
Clark, M. K., 64
Clinton, De Witt, 163, 168
Coe, George Albert, 10, 11-13, 17-18
Coffman, Lotus D., 393
Coghill, G. E., 321, 413
Cohn, David L., 4*n*
Colburn, Warren, 134, 401
Collings, Ellsworth, 118*n*, 260, 415-416
Commager, Henry Steele, 2*n*, 252-253
Conant, James B., 222
Corey, Stephen M., 276*n*, 313*n*, 378*n*
Cornell, Francis G., 276*n*
Coughlin, Charles E., 221
Counts, George S., 115*n*, 203, 254, 412
Courtis, S. A., 288*n*
Cousin, Victor, 402
Crain, Lucille Cardin, 221
Cremin, Lawrence A., 5*n*, 106*n*
Crèvecoeur, Hector St. John de, 2-3
Cronbach, Lee J., 288
Cubberly, Ellwood P., 166*n*
Cunningham, Ruth, 105*n*, 127*n*, 316
Curti, Merle E., 282*n*

Darwin, Charles Robert, 403
Dashiell, John F., 36*n*
Davis, A., 295*n*, 414

Davis, C. M., 63
Davis, H., 301*n*
Davis, Mary Dabney, 347*n*
De Garmo, Charles, 107*n*, 133, 134, 405
Dembo, T., 294*n*
Dewey, E., 64
Dewey, John, 10, 14, 111, 205-206, 214, 237, 254, 289, 322*n*, 323*n*; biography, 410; contribution to educational philosophy, 32; *Democracy and Education*, 15; *Educational Frontier, The*, 23; experience learning, 32; experience theory, 117; interest and effort theory, 33; laboratory school, 259; laissez faire in education, 21-22; nature of education, 15; *Public and Its Problems*, 18; ultimate moral purpose of education, 21
Dickens, Charles, 3
Dollard, J., 295*n*, 309*n*
Dunbar, H. F., 63, 294
Duncan, Ethel M., 360*n*

Ebbinghaus, H., 31, 405
Eells, K., 295*n*
Eliot, Charles W., 170, 174
Erikson, E. H., 296*n*
Everett, Edward, 166

Festinger, L., 294*n*
Fine, Benjamin, 254
Flexner, Abraham, 176*n*, 255, 269
Forkner, H. L., 124*n*
Foshay, A. W., 127*n*, 140*n*
Franklin, Benjamin, 398
Freeman, Frank N., 286
French, T. M., 63
Freud, Sigmund, 411
Fries, Maj. Gen. Amos A., 221
Froebel, A. W., 185
Froebel, Friederich, 257-258, 287, 402
Fuess, Claude M., 174

Gallaudet, Thomas Hopkins, 408
Gardner, Mary R., 414
Garrison, K. C., 63
Gesell, Arnold, 414
Gibb, C. A., 142*n*
Glennon, Vincent J., 303*n*
Goddard, Harvey, 410
Good, H. C., 158*n*
Goodrich, Samuel, 134
Goodykoontz, Bess, 135*n*
Griscom, John, 402

Hall, G. Stanley, 133, 288, 404-405
Hall, Rev. Samuel R., 402, 408
Hallowell, A. I., 296
Hamblen, Stewart B., 213
Hamilton, Alexander, 168
Hanna, Lavone A., 120*n*
Hanna, P. R., 360
Harding, L. W., 230*n*, 303*n*, 326*n*
Hardy, William G., 79
Haring, D. G., 296*n*
Harris, William T., 132, 185, 404
Hart, Joseph K., 107, 334*n*
Hart, Merwin K., 221
Hartman, George W., 35*n*
Havighurst, R. J., 73, 295*n*, 414
Hayden, Alice H., 247
Heidbreder, Edna, 35*n*
Herbart, Johan Friederich, 207, 402
Hildreth, Gertrude, 47
Hilgard, E. R., 34, 34*n*, 35*n*, 76
Hollingshead, Arthur D., 58, 59, 67, 77
Hollingshead, August de Belmont, 295
Hollingshead, H. B., 414
Hoover, Herbert, 214
Hopkins, L. Thomas, 121*n*
Horowitz, R. E., 64
Hubbard, David, 221
Hull, C. L., 34-35, 35*n*
Hunnicutt, C. W., 303*n*
Hyman, H. H., 67

Ilg, Frances, 414

Jacobs, Leland B., 326*n*
Jacobson, Paul B., 137*n*

James, William, 10, 111, 259, 287, 405
Jay, John, 168
Jefferson, Thomas, 3, 398
Jennings, Helen H., 73-74, 82, 414
Jersild, Arthur T., 316*n*, 375, 414
Jones, Oliver M., 178
Judd, Charles H., 41, 288
Jung, Carl, 413

Kamp, Joseph P., 221
Kandel, I. L., 203
Katona, George, 43*n*
Kellogg, W. K., 146
Kilpatrick, William Heard, 10, 13, 19, 23*n*, 259, 260-262, 265-266, 290, 333, 411
Kluckhohn, Clyde, 296, 414
Koffka, Kurt, 35, 411, 413
Köhler, Wolfgang, 35, 411, 413
Koopman, G. R., 145*n*
Kounin, J. S., 298*n*
Kuhlen, Raymond, G., 63

Lane, Howard, 142*n*
Lane, Jessie, 135*n*
Lancaster, Joseph, 167, 407
La Salle, Jean Baptiste, 233
Lashley, K. S., 65
Lanski, Lois, 341*n*
Lewin, Kurt, 65, 71, 294*n*, 298*n*, 414
Lewis, O., 296
Linton, Ralph, 66, 237
Lipitt, Ronald, 126, 298*n*
Locke, John, 398
Loeb, M. B,, 295*n*, 414
Lynd, H. M., 69, 413
Lynd, R. S., 69, 413

Mackenzie, Gordon N., 305*n*
Malinowski, Bronislaw, 66
Mandelbaum, D., 296
Mann, Horace, 132, 133, 165-166, 195, 235-236, 402, 403
Martin, George H., 166*n*
Martineau, Harriet, 3
McConnell, T. R., 36, 36*n*
McGaughy, J. R., 412
McKim, M. G., 124*n*
McMurry, Charles A., 133, 134
McMurry, Frank, 133, 134, 405
McSwain, E. T., 387*n*
Mead, Margaret, 66, 296, 413
Menninger, Karl, 414
Meriam, J. L., 260
Meyer, Adolph, 175, 405
Miel, Alice, 144*n*
Mill, Alice, 145*n*
Miller, N., 309*n*
Misner, Paul J., 145*n*
Moreno, J. L., 70-71, 413
Morrison, Henry W., 412
Morse, Arthur D., 220*n*
Morse, Jedediah, 134, 401
Mort, Paul R., 276*n*
Mumford, Lewis, 347
Murchison, Carl, 63
Murray, H. A., 296*n*, 414

Nall, Jack, 306*n*
Nevins, Allan, 2*n*
Newlson, Jesse, 417
Nock, Albert Jay, 162*n*
Nowlis, V., 310
Nowlis, H. H., 310

Olson, Willard, 414
Otto, Henry J., 138-139
Otto, Max, 10

Page, David P., 403
Page, Richmond, 213
Painter, F. V. N., 319*n*
Parker, Col. Francis W., 133, 219, 254, 404
Parkhurst, Helen, 416
Passow, A. Harry, 305*n*
Patrick, J. R., 65
Pauly, F. R., 304*n*
Pavlov, Ivan, 34, 39
Peabody, Elizabeth Palmer, 403
Peirce, Charles, 259
Perkins, Francis T., 321*n*
Perry, Ralph Barton, 10
Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich, 32, 207, 256, 287, 401-402

Philbrick, John D., 132
Piaget, Jean, 413
Pierce, Paul R., 137*n*
Pratt, Caroline, 416
Prescott, David A., 58, 412
Purmont, Philemon, 160

Radke, M., 301*n*
Raup, R. Bruce, 259
Reavis, William C., 137*n*
Remmers, H. H., 67*n*
Ribble, Margaret A., 336*n*
Rice, J. M., 405
Robertson, Wanda, 119*n*
Rohrer, J. H., 298*n*
Roosevelt, Franklin D., 284
Roosevelt, Theodore, 214
Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 31, 256, 398
Rugg, Harold, 265, 275-276, 385, 412
Russell, Bertrand, 12
Russell, James E., 218*n*

Sanders, Charles W., 3
Sandin, A. A., 285
Savage, James, 162
Schoggen, Phil, 306*n*
Schurz, Mrs. Carl, 408
Search, Preston, 111, 409
Sears, P. S., 294*n*
Shane, Harold G., 387*n*
Shaw, C. R., 68
Sheldon, Edward A., 133, 408
Sherif, M., 67, 298*n*
Shores, J. Harlan, 286
Shumaker, Ann, 412
Smith, Elmer O., Jr., 57*n*
Smith, Mortimer, 162*n*
Smith, Nila Banton, 304*n*
Solby, B., 64
Spencer, Herbert, 404
Stratemeyer, F. B., 124*n*
Stendler, Celia Burns, 128
Stevens, S. S., 308*n*
Stewart, Maxwell S., 215
Stoddard, G. D., 283
Stone, Cliff W., 176
Sutherland, J., 352
Swain, D. Scott, 221

Tasch, Ruth J., 316, 375
Taylor, Walter A., 226*n*
Tenebaum, Samuel, 262
Terman, Louis, 410
Thelen, Herbert A., 305*n*
Thorndike, E. L., 33, 37-38, 288, 405
Ticknor, Elisha, 162
Tobin, Maurice J., 224*n*
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 3
Trager, H. G., 301-302
Trow, W. C., 72
Truman, Harry S., 214
Tryon, C. M., 78

Wann, Kenneth Douglas, 277*n*
Warner, W. L., 295*n*, 414
Washburne, Carleton, 416
Watson, J. B., 34, 411
Webster, Daniel, 166
Wells, Herbert George, 361
Wertheimer, Max, 411
Wheeler, Raymond H., 321*n*
White, R. K., 298
White, William Allen, 394
Whitehead, Alfred North, 10
Whiting, J. M. W., 296
Whitman, Walt, 62
Williams, Robert M., 302*n*
Wilson, Guy M., 112*n*
Wilson, Woodrow, 214
Wolfe, Thomas, 394
Woodbridge, William C., 134
Woodring, Paul, 387*n*
Wright, H. F., 298*n*, 306*n*
Wrightstone, J. Wayne, 291
Wundt, Wilhelm, 404

Zachry, C. B., 69
Zoll, Allen A., 220-221

Index of Subjects

Ability grouping, 289; introduction of, 113
Absorption, versus learning, 320-323
Achievement, in experimental schools, 274
Action research, 310-316; criticisms of, 313-316; varieties of, 311-312; *see also* Research
Activity, role of, in childhood learning, 48-49
Activity curriculum, 11, 20
Activity movement, 289
Administration, broadening scope of, 138
Administrators, personal accountability of, 154
Adult maturity, and education, 374
Adult orientation, and child growth, 69
Age-grade groupings, 83
Aggressor role, 299
Alfred P. Sloan Foundation, 212
American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 212
American Association for Gifted Children, Inc., 199
American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation, 186
American Association of Instructors of the Blind, 197
American Association of Psychiatric Clinics for Children, 200
American Association of School Administrators, 135, 146, 151, 181; organization and functions of, 184-185
American character, and experimental viewpoint, 252-253
American Council on Education, 202
American dream education in, 3-4; nature of, 1-3
American Education Fellowship, 202
American Educational Research Association, 188
American experimentalism, bases of, 258-259; *see also* Experimentalism
American Federation of Teachers, 225-226
American Hearing Society, 198
American Industrial Arts Association, 191
American Institute of Architects, 225
American Journal of Education, 132
American Junior Red Cross, 215
American Library Association, 204
American National Red Cross, 215
American Patriots, Inc., 221
American philosophy, and educational values, 10
American Physical Education Association, 186
American problem, stated, 385
American Red Cross, 208
American School Health Association, 199
American society, concept of, 295
American Speech and Hearing Association, 198-199
American Textbook Publishers Institute, 226-227
Animal learning, 42
Apperception, 207
Applied economics, 212
Arithmetic skills, 303
Army Alpha Test, 112
Association for Advancement of Physical Education, 186

Association for Childhood Education International, 204-205
Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 191
Associational learning, 29, 33, 39
Attorney-General's list of subversive organizations, 221
Audio-visual center, 246-247
Authoritarian leadership, 141-142
Authoritarian practices, 22
Authoritarian traditions, versus democratic school, 253-255

Behavior, causes of, 297-301; human, and experience curriculum, 121; and experimental research, 14; *see also* Human behavior; social, and good citizenship, 388-389
Behaviorism, 34
Bill of Rights, 1
Binet-Simon tests, 410
Blindness, 196-197
Blocker, role, 299
Books, effective use of, 331-332; *see also* Textbooks
Boston Citizens Schooling Committee, 159
Boston Latin School, 160
Boys' Clubs of America, 216
Boy Scouts of America, 217
Broad-unit learnings, 327-328
Brownies, 351
Business and professional organizations, 225-227

Camp Fire Girls, Inc., 218
Charts, 241-242
Child, uniqueness of individual, 271
Child-centered school, 120
Child citizens, 380; *see also* Citizenship
Child development, normative approach, 293; principles of, 293-295; *see also* Child growth and development
Child development movement, 293-295
Child development research, 293
Child growth and development, aspiration and ego involvement, 65; child's concept of self, 62; child development approach, 57-61; child's potential capacity, 62; concepts of, 57-85; confused terminology of, 58; ecological context, 80-83; emotional factors, 64-65; environmental opportunities, 62; family growth and, 67; homogeneity factor, 72; implications of concepts, 76-83; individual versus group, 70-76; multiple approach, 76-77; socialization process, 67; synthesis of concepts, 59-61; uniqueness of individual, 61-66
Child-in-society, 126
Childhood learning, and common sense, 41; understanding of, 42; *see also* Learning
Childhood morale, 376-377
Children, bearing and rearing of, 392; study of, and social studies, 19-21
Children's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, 210
Children's Charter, 214
Children's interests, respect for, 375
Children's purposes, 322; teacher and, 323-324
Citizen's Committees, colonial period, 159-163; and Horace Mann, 165-166
Citizenship, and elementary school, 363-382; good, social behaviors necessary for, 388-389
Citizenship skills, 379-380
Civic services, 351
Class size, 83
Classless environment, 4
Classroom climates, effective, 339
Classroom practice, and dynamic learning, 52
College, "people's," 108-110
Columbia University, Laboratory School, 111

Commission on Curriculum, 179
Commission on Educational Freedom, 203
Commission on Human Relations, 203
Commission on Intercultural Education, 203
Commission on Life Adjustment Education for Youth, 205
Commission on Relation of School and College, 203
Commission on Teacher Education, 115
Commissions, influence of, on elementary education, 157-192, 194-231
Commissions on Reorganization of Elementary and Secondary Education, 178
Committee on College Entrance Requirements, 174-175
Committee on Community School Relations, 203
Committee on Economy of Time, 176
Committee of Eminent Bostonians, 160
Committee of Fifteen, 108-110, 173
Committee on Progressive Education in Rural Schools, 203
Committee on Six-Year Course of Study, 175-176
Committee of Ten, 170-174
Committee of Twelve, 174
Committees, citizens', of Colonial period, 159-163; early legislative, 163-164; influence of, on elementary education, 157-192, 194-231; labor, 164-165; pioneering contributions of, 159-169
Common school, defined, 5, 107; origins and general establishment of, 106-107; responsibility of, 107
Community-curriculum relations, 351-352
Community involvement, types of, 351-353
Community participation, in educational progress, 10-11
Community planning, and early childhood schools, 348
Community problems, and education program, 92
Community relations, 88-89; and controversial issues, 99
Community school, 350-356
Competitive group, 298
Compulsory attendance laws, 138, 178
Concentration or correlation principle, 219
Conditioned learning, 39
Conditioned response, 34
Conditioning, as theory of learning, 33; theory of, 38-39
Configurative learning, 35
Connectionism, 33, 37
Controversial attitudes and issues, 97-99
Convention of American Instructors of the Deaf, 197
Cook County Normal School, 404, 409
Cooperative planning, 122-123; and community relations, 100
Cooperative environment, 298
Courtis Arithmetic Test, 176
Creative teacher, 341
Creative teaching, and leadership, 146-149
Creativity, as growth, 147
Criticism, by community group, 89-90; organizational, of public schools, 220
Cultural change, and experimental school, 262-264
Cultural nurture, and human development, 17-19
Cultural origins, American, 87-88
Culture, and personality, 296-297
"Culture-fair" tests, 295
Culture units, 119
Curriculum, changing interpretations of, 104-129; specific prob-

lems affecting, 125-128; child growth and, 78; chronology of, 400-401, 407-409; determinants of, 391-392; emerging, 123-124; needs types, *see* Needs curriculum; post-1930 interpretations, 118-124; scope and significance, circa 1900, 108-110
Curriculum appraisal, basis for, 105
Curriculum change, leaders in, 133-135; slowness in, 329-330
Curriculum design, and educational purpose, 104-106
Curriculum differences for ability groups, 113
Curriculum lag, 1900-1925, 112

Dalton Laboratory Plan, 118*n*, 416
Darwinian theory, 111
Deafness, 198*n*
Declaration of Independence, 1
Democracy, defined, 386; faith in, 10; interpretations of, 386-387; social and political, 20
Democratic civilization, and New Education, 25; and occurrence of war, 24
Democratic leadership, 145-146
Democratic process, responsibilities inherent in, 153-154
Democratic school, versus authoritarian traditions, 253-255
Democratic values in educational leadership, 140-146
Demonstrations, 240
Department of Superintendence, 173
Depression, impact of, on education, 114
Development, norms of, 293-295; *see also* Child development; Child growth and development
Dewey Laboratory School, 259, 290, 409
De Witt Clinton Society, 407
Discipline, 377; formal, 172
Domination, 74
Dominator role, 300
Dramatic participation, 239-240
Drives, and motivation, 44
Dual-type school, 137
Dynamic child, and learning process, 322
Dynamic learning, diagrammatic interpretation, 43-45; implications of concept, 52-54; teacher's role in, 33-54; transfer of training and, 50; *see also* Learning, dynamics of
Dynamic universe, 13

Early childhood years, importance of, 347
Early leaders in school administration, 132-133
Ecology, psychological, 306-307
Ecological factors in child growth and development, 80-83; in human development, 68
Economic knowledge, 212
Economy of time, in education, 176-177
Education, in American dream, 3-4; development of, influence of commissions on, 157-192; textbook role in, 134; experimentalist conception of, 17; group living concept, 23; individual development concept, 256; objectives clarified, 151-152; public attitudes and, 87-103; responsibilities of, 91-92; science of, 112; seven cardinal principles of, 344; as social process, 71; value theory of, 9-26
Educational concepts, circa 1930, 115-118
Educational leadership, *see* Leadership
Educational philosophers, 31-32
Educational philosophy, interpretation of, 149-151
Educational planning, 90-99
Educational Policies Commission, 115, 141*n*
Educational practices, questionable, 31

Educational profession, responsibilities of, 95

Educational programs, organizations for, 201-208

Educational psychology, development of, 31-33; establishment of, 319

Educational-recreational organizations, 216-219

Educational research, *see* Research

Eight-Year Study, 417-418

Elementary curriculum, *see* Curriculum

Elementary school, and better citizenship, 363-382; and better humans, 363-382; dual job of, 369-370; expanding role of, 344-362; objectives of, as stated by Commission on Reorganization of Elementary Education, 179; problems facing, 386-394

Elementary School Section, National Safety Council, 216

Emerging curriculum, 123-124

Emotion, and learning, 50

English grammar and literature, Committee of Fifteen, 173-174

Environment, 173; permissive, and creative teaching, 147

Environmental opportunities, and child growth, 62

Error, and learning process, 43

European experimental centers, 255-256

European schools, 1819-1843, 402

Evaluation, and child growth, 78, 81-82; and creative teaching, 149

Evaluation standards, child-oriented versus subject-oriented, 390

Evolutionary concept, in education, 14

Exceptional children, 358; organizations for education of, 197-199

Exhibits, 241

Experience, contrived, 238-239; curriculum development and, 117 diagrammatic interpretation of, 238-239; direct, 238; first-hand, 378; purposeful, 238; sequential nature of, 124; subject matter and, 324

Experience curriculum, 121-122

Experimental centers, 251-279; breadth of educative experience, 272-273; children's needs and rights, 271-272; cultural change, 262-264; democratic versus authoritarian traditions, 253-254; European backgrounds, 255-256; new concept of achievement, 274; rise of, 251-252; *see also* Experimental school; Experimentation

Experimental education, deep roots of, 255-258

Experimental inquiry, and perspectives, 20

Experimental laboratory science, 266

Experimental school, experimental nature of defined, 264-268; experiences through, 270-275; rise of, in U.S., 258-262; role of interest and purpose, 273-274; as working democracy, 273; *see also* Experimental centers; Experimentation

Experimental trials, 51; errors in, 43; principle of, 44-46

Experimental viewpoint in America, 252-253

Experimentalism, American, bases of, 258-259

Experimentalist conception, 17

Experimentalist interpretation, ambiguities in, 17-25

Experimentation, by consent, 270; childhood learning and, 42; chronology, 407-409; contrasting viewpoints, 267-268; controlled, 265; creative teaching and, 147; defined, 264-266; future increase of, 277-278; guinea-pig misconception of, 268-269; new teaching interpretation, 274-275; *see also* Experimental center; Experimental school

Faculty psychology, 31, 172
Failure, in theory of learning, 34
Family, and child growth, 67
Federal Department of Education, 209
Feral children, 18
Field theory of learning, 35, 39-40
Field trips, 240
Flash cards, 233
Free (public) education, principle of, 159
Free public schools, challenge to, 6
Freedom, nature of, 6-7
Functional approach, 335
Functional curriculum, 14
Functional organization, and creative teaching, 148
Functional subject matter, 334-337
Functional teaching, 334-337
Functional theory, 14
Fund for the Advancement of Education, 213
Future, challenge of, 384-397

General Education Board, 211
Gestalt psychology, 33, 411; versus behaviorism, 36; changing curriculum and, 117; contributions of, 39-40
Gifted children, 80, 199
Girl Scouts of the United States of America, 218-219
Goals and drives, 38
Governmental organizations, and elementary-school practices, 208-211
Grade standards, 176
Graphs, 241-242
Great Depression, impact of, on education, 114
Group behavior, 126-127
Group climate, 298
Group contagion, 299
Group dynamics, 299
Group interaction, and child growth, 82
Grouping, and individual differences, 289
Groups, organized, *see* Organizations
Growth, child, *see* Child growth and development as child's business, 373; concept of, 59; principles of, 294; value problem in education, 25; *see also* Development; Child development
Growth potential, 321
Guidance functions, widening of, 337-338
Guidance services, 359
"Guinea-pig" concept, 268-269

Handicapped child, 358
Health agencies, 200
Help-seeker role, 300
Herbartian ideas, introduction of, in U.S., 133-134
Historical perspective, 20
Homogeneous grouping, 289
Horace Mann-Lincoln Institute of School Experimentation, 263, 270
Horace Mann School, 409
Hornbooks, 400
Hostility, 298
Human, as product, 371-372
Human behavior, heartening discoveries about, 370-379; inflexibility of, 369-370
Human development, cultural nature and, 17-19; scientific study of, 16-17
Human qualities, 5
Human relations, 98
Human values, and elementary school, 363-382

Immigration, and educational change, 1890's, 110-111
Incidental learning, 42
Inculcation, and schools, 318-319
Individual, versus group, 70
Individual capacities, 79
Individual differences, 78-79, 271
Individual growth, maximum, 113-115
Individual-in-society, 124-128

Individuality, challenge of, and universal school, 110; respect for, 16
Industrial society, dynamic character of, 21
Infant schools, 167, 407
Infantility, versus growth, 374
In-group, 298
Innovations, testing of, 277
Insightful learning, 37
Instructional materials, and learning theory, 236-238; *see also* Teaching materials
Interdependence, and good citizenship, 366-368
Interest, and experimental school, 273-274
Intergroup education, 301-302
Intergroup understanding, 360
International and intergroup understanding, 360
International Council for Exceptional Children, 190
Interpretation, defined, 149; leadership and, 149-151; public relations and, 151
I.Q., 112

John Dewey Society, 6, 205
Joint Commission on Emergency in Education, 181

Kindergarten, first U.S., 345, 408
Kindergarten experience, 206-207

Labor committees, early, 164-165
Laboratories of living, 371
Laboratory school, 111; defined, 264-267; Dewey, 259; open-door policy, 275
Laissez faire, and group relations, 75; misconception of, 21
Lancastrian system, 135, 137, 167, 407
Language, 18; role of, in learning, 49-50
Language arts, skills in, 304
Lanham Act, 181
Law of Effect, Thorndike's, 38
Leadership, and elementary education, 131-155; adequate personnel for, 152; administrative programs, 152; authoritarian, 141; changing concepts, 141-142; creative teaching, 146-149; democratic, 140-146; by elite, 141-142; emerging, 142; interpretation process and, 149-151; NCPEA definition, 143; poor physical facilities and, 152; present-day challenges to, 151-155; shared, 144-145; social issues and, 154; status, 135-140, 144
Leadership contributions, 398, 401-402, 410-413
Learning, versus absorption, 320-323; clarification of meaning of, 29; conflicting and competing theories, 33, 36-40; defined, 28-29; drives toward, 309-310; dynamic, *see* Dynamic learning; dynamic concept of, 40-43; as dynamic process, 42
Learning, dynamics of, activity concept in, 48-49; child education and, 28-55; drives and goals in, 38; motivation through drives, 44; *see also* Dynamic learning
Learning, emotion and, 50; erroneous concepts of, 31; experimental trials and, 51; growth process and, 41; interpretations of, 33-40; language and, 49; meaning and, 46-47; meaningful, 37; perception and, 49; psychology of, 31-33; public attitudes and, 99-103; readiness in, 30; single theory of, 41; social milieu in, 30; transfer in, 30; understanding and, 46-47; "learning by doing," 290
Learning experience, initiation and guidance in, 328-329
Learning situation, essential elements in, 30
Learning process, in children, 325-327

Learning theory, 307-308; development of, 30-31
Legislation, chronology of, 398-400, 401-407, 415-417
Life ahead, 363-369; changes foreseeable, 364-365
Life situations, persistent, 123-124
Lincoln School of Teachers College, 263, 416

Magna Charta, 1
Manumission Society, 168
Maps, 241-242
Marine School Act, 415
Massachusetts Citizens Committee, 165
Massachusetts Senate Education Committee, 163
McDonald County Experimental School, 416
McGuffey's Eclectic Readers, 3, 90, 401
Meaning, grasp of, 46-47
Meaningful learning, 40
Mechanical learning, 43
Memorization, 244
Memory, 20
Mental and physical health, organizations for, 199
Mental discipline, 171-172
Mental health, 201
Method pioneers, 133
Mind, functional theory, 14
"Minimum essential," of New Education, 11-13
Monitorial system, 135, 167, 407
Morale, 376-377
Motion pictures, 241
Motivation, 44
Multidimensional learning, 119
Music Educators National Conference, 187

National Art Education Association, 190
National Association for Mental Education, 206
National Association for Nursery Health, Inc., 201
National Association of Persons Engaged in the Preparation of Rural Teachers, 186
National Association of School Social Workers, 199-200
National Association of Secondary-School Principals, 188
National Audubon Society, 217
National Child Labor Committee, 214
National Citizens Commission, 223
National Commission on Children and Youth, 214
National Commission for Defense of Democracy Through Education, 182
National Commission on Safety Education, 181
National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, 183
National Conference of Christians and Jews, 215
National Conference of Professors of Educational Administration, 143
National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 220
National Council for American Education, 220
National Council for Elementary Science, 197
National Council for the Social Studies, 189, 388
National Council of State Consultants in Elementary Education, 210
National Council on Teacher Retirement, 181
National Council of Teachers of English, 188, 196
National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, 196
National Education Association, 137; Commission on the Curriculum, 179; commissions and councils currently active, 180-183; *see also* under commission; committee; Committee of Fifteen, 173; Committee of Ten, 170-

174; Committee of Twelve, 174; committees of historical significance, 170-183; *see also under* Committee; Commission; Department of Audio-Visual Instruction, 190; Department of Classroom Teachers, 187; Department of Elementary School Principles, 189; Department of Rural Education, 186; Department of Secondary Education, 175; departments directly influencing elementary schools, 183-192; Educational Policies Commission, 181; establishment of, 169; Kindergarten Department, 185; Legislative and Federal Relations Division, 181; membership, 170; organization and functions, 169-192; original departments, 170
National Health Council, 200
National Herbart Society, 207
National Kindergarten Association, 206-207
National League to Promote School Attendance, 209
National Safety Council, 208; Elementary School Section, 216
National School Boards Association, Inc., 210
National Society for Prevention of Blindness, Inc., 197-198
National Society for Study of Education, 177
National Youth Administration, 415
NCPEA, *see* National Conference of Professors of Education Administration
NEA, *see* National Education Association
Needs curriculum, 121
Negro children, and educational research, 302
New Education, achievements, 17; basic ethical concept, 15-16; conception of, 11-12; defined, 25; evolutionary concept, 14; philosophic roots of, 13-14
New England Primer, 400
Nineteenth century chronology of education, 401 f.
Normative approach, to child study, 293
Northwestern University, Settlement House, 409

Ohio Education Association, 195
Ohio State University School, 263; first workshop for curriculum planning, 417
Open - door policy, laboratory schools, 275
Opportunity, equality of, 389
Ordinance of 1787, 253
Organization, as mark of maturity, 158-159
Organizations, common goal of, 229; corollary, contributing to elementary-school practices, 208-227; influence of, on elementary education, 157-192, 194-231; and professionalization, 227-231; semipublic philanthropic, 167-169; subversive, 221
Out-group, 298
Overrefinement, era of, 319-320

Parent-child-school unity, 91
Parent education, 349-350
Parent participation, 269-270, 349
Parent-Teacher Association, *see* PTA
Parent's organizations, 219-220
Participation, dramatic, 239
Past, challenge of, 4-7; contributions from, 5
Peer relations, 68
"People's College," development of, 108-110
Perception, and childhood learning, 49
Perception theorists, 308
Perceptual reorganization, 308
Permissive environment, and creative teaching, 147
Persistent life situations, 123-124
Personality, and culture, 296-297
Pestalozzian-Ritter methods, 133

Philanthropic organizations, 167-169, 211-214
Philosophy, American, 10
Physical facilities, and leadership, 152
Physical and mental health, organizations for, 199
Pioneers, educational, 133
Planning, cooperative, 122, 123
Playboy role, 299
Population changes, and curriculum changes, 127
Pragmatism, 111
Prejudice, in community groups, 90
Present, challenge of, 384-386
Principal, elementary-school, and instructional supervision, 153
Principalship, elementary, development of, 135-138
Probability, 111
Professional standards, support by organizations, 229-230
Professional status, and comprehensive organization, 227-228
Professionalization, through organization, 227-231
Progressive education, 203-204, 291
Project method, 11, 33, 332-333
Psychiatric clinics, 200
Psychiatry, educational influence of, 116-117
Psychological ecology, 306-307
Psychomotor learnings, 29
PTA groups, 208, 220, 351, 367; Girl Scouts and, 218-219
Public attitudes and pressures, 87-103; classroom teacher and, 101-102; community problems, 92; controversial content of classroom topics, 96; educator's responsibilities, 94-95
Public relations, and interpretation, 151
Public School Society of New York, 168
Public schools, organizations critical of, 220
Publicity, 151
Pupil activity, 18
Pupil purposing, 17
Purpose, and experience school, 273-274; children's, *see* Children's purposes
Purposeful activity, 12
Purposeful experience, 18

Quincy Grammar School, 132
Quincy method, 219, 254, 404

Radio, 241
Recognition-seeker role, 299
Recordings, 241
Reflex, and learning process, 320
Reinforcement, and learning, 308-309
Repetition, 34, 47
Research, educational, 281-316; action research, 310-316; basic skills, 302-304; child development movement, 293-295; contributions from related disciplines, 295-301; creative teaching and, 148-149; current attitudes toward, 281-283; faulty design and interpretation, 284-285; Herbartian influence, 287; human development and, 375-377; inadequate control of variables, 284; learning theories, 307-310; promise for elementary education, 301-310; psychological ecology, 306; scientific movement and, 286-292; social interaction in classroom, 304-305; weaknesses in 283-286
Research Center in Group Dynamics, 126
Responsibility, and public attitudes on education, 103
Retarded children, 79-80
Role playing, 299
Role-taking and role playing, 299-300
Rural education, 186
Russell Sage Foundation, 211

Satisfaction, in theory of learning,
School, common, *see* Common school

School activities, extended, 357-358
School-community planning, 94
School parents, organizations of, 219-220
Schools, chronology of advances in, 400, 407-409; as instruments for inculcation, 318-319; types of, and challenge of future, 394-395
Science and educational values, 9
Scientific movement, in education, 286-292
Shared leadership, 144
Sensory experience, direct, 326
Security, and achievement, 377; and search for truth, 16
Segregation, and child growth, 79
Self-confessor role, 299
Self-expression, 374
Self-selection, and child growth, 63-64
Seven Cardinal Principles of Education, 344
Sign-certificate theorists, 308
Skills, and learning, 47; basic, and educational research, 302-304
Sloan Foundation Study, 146, 212
Slow learner, 80
"Sloyd," 108
Social change, and schools, 114-115
Social class, and educational research, 295-296
Social goods, interpretations of, 387-389
Social interaction, 298; in classroom, 304-305
Social interests, effect of, on learning, 304
Social issues, conflicting, 154
Socialization process, and child growth, 67
Society, and educational curriculum, 292; study of, and child study, 19-21
Sociopolitical change, implications of, 125-128
Speyer School of Teachers College, 409
Spanish-American War, 111
Special-interest pleader role, 300
Special subjects, organizations for teaching, 196-197
Speech Association of America, 187-188
S-R bond, 320; *see also* Stimulus-response
Standardization, 172
State education agencies, professionalization of, 228
State Education Associations, 194-196
Status leaders, functions appropriate for, 144
Status leadership, 144; evolution of, 135-140
Still pictures, 241
Stimulus-response theorists, 3-8
Student organizations, 358
Subject-centered curriculum, 289
Subject matter, changing concepts of, 318-324; and direct sensory experience, 326; and experience, 324-325; functional, 334-337; logical, organization of, 325; versus method, 320; proper use of, 324-329; in transition, 329-333; and unit of work approach, 120
Subject matter interpretations, 318-343; and learning process, 325-327; textbooks and curriculums, 330-332
Subjects, as curriculum approach, 111
Sunday schools, 161, 167
Superintendency, rise of, 135
Supervision, democratization of, 140; development of, 139; elementary-school principal, 153
Supplementary reading, 331-332
Symbolic learning, 29

Teacher, and challenge of future, 393; changing role of, 337-342; creative, 341-342; as person, 339-341; professional preparation of, 174; vocational organizations, 223-225; status and work of, 101-102, 159

Teacher participation, in school-community planning, 94
Teacher-training institutions, rise of, 137
Teaching, creative, 146-149; new interpretation of, in experimental schools, 274-275
Teaching materials, audio-visual center, 246-247; and education values, 235-236; generalizations, 247-248; history of, 233-234; improvements in, and better learning, 233-249; learning theory and, 236-238; misconceptions about, 234-235; textbooks, 242-246
Television, 241
Testing, *see* Research, educational
Testing and measuring movement, 319
Texas State Teachers Association, 195
Textbooks, and curriculum, 330-332; role of, in U.S., 134; as teaching materials, 242-246; as tools, 244
Thinking, learning and, 46-47; process of, 14
Tools, mastery of, in human development, 18
Training, as aim of education, 172
Trial-and-error learning, 34, 37
Trials, experimental, *see* Experimental trials
Truth, free search for, 16
Twentieth Century Fund, 212

Uniqueness, of individual, 61-66
Unit of work, 118
United Nations, 24, 367
United States, as world power, and changing curriculum, 126; Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, 210; Office of Education, 208
Unity of action, 157-158
Universal school, development of, 110-111
University of Chicago, Human Dynamics Laboratory, 111, 258-260, 305
University of Iowa Elementary School, 263
University of Missouri Experimental School, 260-262
Urbanization, and changing curriculum, 127

Value beliefs, in New Education, 16-17
Value problem, crux of, 25
Value theory, science and educational values in, 9
Verbal symbols, 242
Verbalism, dangers of, 32; in school learning, 31
Virginia Education Association, 196
Visual aids, 235
Visual symbols, 241-242
Vocational organizations, teachers', 223-225
Vocations-centered school, 352-353

War, impact of, on education, 114
Welfare organization, 214-216
White House Conferences on Children and Youth, 214
Whole-child concept, 272, 290, 294
Winnetka Plan, 416
Winnetka Public Elementary Schools, 264
Work, unit of, 118
Workbook, 243
Working Committee on Citizenship, 388
World of Tomorrow, 368-369

THE ALL INDIA COUNCIL
4/19 D.A.G. Extension
Ajmeri Gate,
NEW DELHI
FOR SECONDARY EDUCATION

The Twelfth Yearbook

EDUCATIONAL FREEDOM in an AGE OF ANXIETY

Edited by

H. GORDON HULLFISH

THIS BOOK is a statement of faith and intention about educational freedom by some of the leading educators of America. It is at once a plea for free inquiry and freedom of expression, and a study of some of the most serious encroachments now being made upon the freedom
our educational system. Special atte
is given to the status of civil liberti
existing threats, to the nature and ef
of anxiety, to school-community relati
ships, to secular achievements and re
gious influences, as well as to the broad
question of assuring educational freedom in a society with diverse beliefs and outlooks.

H. Gordon Hullfish, who has edited this Twelfth Yearbook of the John Dewey Society, is Professor of Education at Ohio State University.

$3.00

No. 9628

Other Yearbooks of the John Dewey Society

EDUCATION FOR A WORLD SOCIETY

Edited by CHRISTIAN O. ARNDT
Professor, School of Education, New York University
and SAMUEL EVERETT
Assistant Professor of Education, City College of New York

In the Eleventh Yearbook of the John Dewey Society fifteen experts analyze what the forces of education can do to develop international understanding. The book examines the role of world religions, world trade and science in the building of peace. It evaluates the experience of student camps and educational exchange programs, discusses the use of communications media to inform the world about international aims, and offers practical suggestions for school programs to develop world-mindedness among students. $3.50

THE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL

Its Responsibility and Opportunity

Edited by HOLLIS L. CASWELL
Dean, Teachers College, Columbia University

The purpose of the Eighth Yearbook of the John Dewey Society is to analyze the status and needs of American youth, with particular attention to the contribution which the high school can make to their education and effective transition into adult life. The underlying constructive emphasis throughout the volume is upon the way in which we must come to grips with the challenge of making high school education for all our youth fulfill its promise and our need. $3.50

DEMOCRACY IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Edited by HAROLD BENJAMIN
Professor of Education, George Peabody College for Teachers

This Tenth Yearbook of the John Dewey Society relates the whole problem of higher educational administration to a major responsibility of our colleges and universities: the exercise of leadership in advancing and implementing our democratic way of life. The problem is considered in three aspects—the principles involved; the current administrative practice among faculties and governing boards; and the challenge to administration in its specific day-by-day functions. $3.00

Available at your bookstore or on order from

HARPER & BROTHERS · 49 EAST 33RD STREET · NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
Publishers of *Harper's Magazine*

No. 4033